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ART. I. *Sketches of the Natural History of Macassar: the Mango tree; the Bread-fruit tree; the Namnam; the Bilimbi; the Tabu-tabu; the Tilepo; together with some meteorological notes.* By G. TRADESCANT LAY.

THE soil about Macassar is alluvial, the surface varied with very slight undulations, and never roughened by pebbles. The earth yielded by the disintegration of the rock, through the agency of meteoric causes among the mountains, has been swept by the streams and freshets towards the shore, where, as the result of successive depositions, a border is formed at their foot of many square miles in extent. This alluvium, though arising from causes that we can easily understand and appreciate, must nevertheless be looked upon as in a special manner the gift of Providence, since it affords the native an expanse of well-watered plain, in which, by means of dykes and terraces of raised earth, he can shut up the moisture, and allow the rice just so much of it as is necessary for the growth, while the superfluous is treasured up, in some ditch or pond near at hand, against the exigencies of the future. But we do not see here the same degree of contrivance and economy in the use of water, nor the same ever wakeful assiduity in the work of irrigation, that we do among the Chinese. It is not often necessary at Macassar, where the rains are copious, the slope easy, and the plains broad; but it would not be amiss perhaps to have a little spare stock laid up in some deep pits against the chance of a dry season; when, if we understood our informers rightly, many of the poorer sort of people die for want of food. The soil contains a large proportion of clay, as it is derived from trap-rock, whereof clay is one of the principal ingredients. It has the power of retaining its moisture much longer than soils, where fine grains of flint predominate, and is for that reason among others far more productive, insomuch that you never meet with a barren spot, if we except the well-trodden pathway, or the beach where the

loose dark-colored grains of trap are washed by the alternations of the tide. Comparison in treating of natural objects often helps us to clearer views of the matter; we may, therefore, glance at the rocks of Macao and the neighboring coasts, wherein we find a few patches of feldspar, some sparkling flakes of black mica, with an enormous preponderance of flint. Soil yielded by this rock gets a tinge of red from the feldspar, and has a little clay from the reduction of the mica, but when taken up in the hand it seems to be mainly composed of whitish flinty grains. Barrenness is, as might be expected, the chief characteristic in the appearance of all such hills and mountains, where this kind of rock lies near the surface, just as productiveness is the principal feature in all the elevations as well as the plains of Macassar. As a remedy for this defect the chief aim in the husbandry of a Chinese is manuring, and though he is so poorly instructed in practical chemistry, that his manure loses one half of its effect in the management of a gratuitous process, he is perfectly right about the necessity of its application. In Macassar, nature seems not to stand in need of such assistance, and its expediency is consequently never thought of, for the soil receives the showers of heaven, which are beautifully styled in Scripture, the blessing of God, and by retaining their moisture, bringeth forth herbs meet for the service of man by whom it is dressed. Happy region! might we say, did the moral condition of man bear any resemblance to the beauties that clothe the ground on which he treads. - But the Creator is unknown, and therefore the creature is unblest.

We touched at Macassar during the wet season, in February, when from the abundance of water, and the lowness of the land, that lay betwixt us and the mountains, it was not easy to travel even a short distance, except in one direction, which I had the melancholy satisfaction of not finding till the last day of our sojourn. The wind is then westerly or northwesterly, so that the stores of rainy deposition fall on the hither side of the hills. The atmospheric currents are cooled by their appulse upon the mountains; heat, the spring that keeps aloft the unseen vapor, is drawn off by the inferior temperature of the soil, and the vapor consequently descends in mists and showers. Elevated land is one of the great causes of atmospheric phenomena; the higher it is, the more frequent and the more violent are the rain, the thunder, and the wind. In any given latitude, or rather on one of those lines, which make a small angle with the parallels of latitude, marking an equality of temperature, and are on that account called *isothermal lines*, the intensity of meteoric changes, the quantity of wind and weather, bear a constant ratio to the altitude and the proximity of the hills. While the 'Blossom' was hovering about Pitcairn's island, where the mutineers of the 'Bounty' took up their final abode, she found little beside squalls, and the usual sequences of unsteady weather. But the prevalence of such an atmosphere formed only a small belt around it; for, when we lost sight of the island, we at the same time bade farewell to the troubles that confounded its sky, and entered again into a region of peace and serenity. This knoll of

earth, which is not more than six miles in circumference, and a mere mole-hill in the wide ocean, has often recurred to my mind as a lively example of what a hill can do in the way of influencing the state of weather. In level plains which stretch to a great distance from any high land, rains seldom or never fall to refresh the ground, as it happens in the deserts of Africa. In Egypt and some parts of Arabia, refraction may create the similitude of water, and dark clouds may rise above the horizon to amuse the thirsty traveler, but he can neither drink out of the fancied pools, nor be refreshed with a shower. But if a range of mountains were on a sudden to be upheaved on the Sahara, the Delta of Egypt, or in the desert of Arabia, a revolution in the character of the climate would ensue immediately—colds as well as heats would supervene, and rain or fair weather would succeed, according as the wind blew towards or blew from the newly formed range. On the windward side of the mountains the sky would be wet and lowering, while on the leeward side it would be fine and serene. On the former, the clouds would discharge their stores of moisture and electric fluid upon the plains; on the latter the thunder would be heard to rumble among the hills, and the clouds seen to overhang their summits; but, as if held there by some enchantment, they would seldom visit the ground that lay at any distance from their foot. This is the case in the Celebes, where, if we judge rightly, the mountains run from north to south, and thus divide the island between the two opposite seasons, winter and summer, wet and dry. One half enjoys fine weather, while the other gets only a little sunshine between thunder storms and heavy showers. Experience only could have taught us that two seasons of so diverse a character could have existed together at the same time, and that too within a very few miles of each other.

The barometric column continued to perform its semi-diurnal ascent and descent, being at its greatest height about four hours after sunrise, and at its lowest depression about two hours before sunset. I think there is a correspondence between the elasticity of the air thus ascertained and the degree marked by the thermometer, for this instrument, if fairly placed so as not to be affected by the heated currents, does not rise after ten in the morning, and first begins to descend about four in the afternoon. This I noted in my voyage to China, for the temperature of my cabin, which was large, and well defended by the thickness of the deck from any lateral communication of heat, never increased after ten in the morning. At Macassar, I lived in a house built after the substantial architecture of the Dutch, and well screened by bread-fruit and palm trees, and the mercury in the thermometric tube never rose after ten, though it had been rising from dawn till it reached its greatest height about that time. The thermometer and the barometer in the day time attain their maximum at the same time; the former remains stationary, while the latter descends to its lowest point at 4; the former then begins as if by some secret sympathy to fall, while the latter turns to climb again till 10 o'clock at night. The thermometer continues to go down till about four in

the morning, at which time the barometer is also at its lowest point for the night. It is beautiful to see how their motions blend sameness with variety, creating a mixture of chords and discords to complete the harmony. If, in the rough and showery days during the wet season at Macassar, we get any fine weather at all, it happens about two hours before noon, and a twenty-four hours is not often so steady as to pass without letting fall some rain towards four in the morning. Nor is this natural understanding and secret consent confined to the phenomena of the atmosphere, for those plants that shut their flowers at night generally begin to change about two hours before sunset, which in tropical climates is not far from four o'clock. Hence, the *Mirabilis Jalapa* is called by the Malays, *bunga pukul empat*, the 4 o'clock plant. My servant, a native of Macassar, who, though not highly endowed in either mind or person, took an interest in flowers, was at some pains in seeking for examples to vouch the truth and uniformity of this circumstance. To get observations of sufficient accuracy, the thermometer should not only be placed at a distance from all bodies which heat the surrounding air above its natural temperature, but the instrument should be of the differential kind, and its altitude be registered every half hour during the twenty-four. With such observations we might draw a straight line and divide it into forty-eight equal parts, consider it as an *axis* or line of *abscissas*, and then, from the several points of division, erect as many perpendiculars, corresponding in height to the temperature noted at each of the half hours. It would be found that lines connecting the ends of these perpendiculars would not lie in one straight line, but would form the sides of a polygon, and might be regarded as the chords or tangents of a curve. When observations shall have become sufficiently numerous and accurate, the nature of this thermometric curve will be determined, or its equation found. And the same thing will be accomplished in reference to the barometer, especially if observations, with one wherein water was substituted for mercury, should be made with care for any length of time near the equator. We should then have a barometric curve, and thus, as far as knowledge is concerned, bring subjects, which at first seemed so unruly and excursive, within the domains of analytic science. The planetary bodies describe curves in their motions which we can investigate, and all their perturbations can be shown to be the effects of one invariable law. In the same way the changes that take place in the pressure and the elasticity of the atmosphere, and the variations of its temperature, will be found to take their periodical journeys in curves, that can be investigated with no less truth and certainty, and all their irregularities be such as can be reduced to the agency of steady and determinate laws. We shall thus be conducted into a new sphere of beauty and order, where the wisdom and power and goodness of the Creator are no less conspicuous, than they are in the planetary system. While the establishment of certain principles will wonderfully assist us in the elucidation of meteoric phenomena, incite and direct our researches, and in the end teach us, that the weather, which has be-

come a proverb and a byword for its apparent uncertainty, is governed by laws as intelligible and uniform as they are kind and beneficent.

In the day-time, the maximum height of the thermometer was 83 or 84, seldom 85; the sensation was often hot and sultry, owing in some measure to the moist condition of the atmosphere. It fell about five or six degrees during the night. Early in the morning of the 25th of February, it had fallen to a trifle less than 75, and accounted for the cold I had experienced during the night. The cool weather that succeeds a thunder-storm was observed here as in other places. Whether such electrical discharges have any direct agency in the production of cold, or whether evaporation, encouraged by the clear sky that often succeeds, be adequate to produce this effect, future experience will enable us to determine. One of the severest flashes of lightning I ever saw, involved the heaven in a momentary blaze, one night about 11 o'clock, and was instantly succeeded by a clap of thunder so loud and so appalling, that a thrill ran through my whole system and filled me with a sudden and involuntary fear, though I am used to regard these phenomena with feelings of sublime emotion, not of terror. The day alternates between rain and sultry weather, and the nights are oppressive, but not always, for the latter were sometimes so chilly that I was fain to wrap my great coat about me in the absence of those accommodations, the sheet and the coverlet, which it was not my privilege to enjoy at Macassar. Such nights are most welcome and most friendly to health, since the bow kept tight by high temperature has its tension relaxed and is thus allowed to recover some of its natural elasticity. Good health is therefore every man's heritage at Macassar, and none seemed to suffer any inconvenience from the climate, except the Chinese—where the want of cleanliness was sufficient to account for the exception.

It is oftentimes our lot in traveling to remark, that certain trees not only prefer some particular situations, but that they have also their partialities in reference to country and divisions of territory. At Macassar, the favorite of every grove is the mango tree, *Mangifera Indica*, which is so common, that scarcely a clump of trees can be found without it. There are several varieties, which differ in magnitude, richness of foliage, and in the color and form of the leaf. The differences are so striking, that I have often walked two or three furlongs with the hope of inspecting a tree I had not seen before, when a cluster of them has lain at that distance from me. In the wet season the mango is neither in fruit nor flower, though like a multitude of other denizens of the tropic it is green all the year round. The leaf is sometimes nearly a foot in length, if we measure from the base of its footstalk to the tip, and its greatest breadth is about one fourth of this. The secondary veins are nearly parallel to each other, and as they issue in this manner from both sides of the midrib, we may compare them to the rays in the vane of a feather, while the midrib will come in the place of the shaft. The leaves stand upon the stem or branches without any obvious reference to order, though a well practiced eye can discover that their direction is spiral. At some

points we find three or four close together, which is a sign that a new branch is about to shoot out from that spot. As we find three or four leaves at one point, so, in compliance with analogy, we meet with as many branches diverging from the same focus. This is not a mere accident, or trivial circumstance, for in some of the natural families it is nearly constant, and in others never met with. It has been conjectured that some distinct species might be found among the many varieties of the mango, but perhaps not, for it is the nature of plants, as well as animals, to run into a great many varieties, when they are taken under the care and training of man, or subjected to a greater number of contingencies by living in his neighborhood. The fruit of the mango is generally larger than the largest turkey's egg, and nearly of the same form. As it ripens, the color changes from green to yellow, and the pulp becomes a grateful acid. The external film or rind has a strong taste and smell of turpentine, which affords an obvious reason for putting the mango among the members of the Terebinthaceous or turpentine-bearing trees. It belongs to that kind of fruit which botanists have agreed to call a drupe, that is, one having a hard nut in the centre of a soft or fleshy investment. The nut is covered with a tuft of delicate fibres, which, when dry, have a soft and silky appearance. In the land of our forefathers there is but one opinion about the excellence of many kinds of fruits, but this is by no means the case when their sons come out to the regions in the neighborhood of the equator, for there it is no uncommon thing to hear a particular kind of fruit highly extolled on one side of the table, and decried with equal zeal and warmth as a thing not fit to be eaten on the other. And the same difference of opinion exists in reference to their comparative wholesomeness; nor is this to be wondered at, for so much depends upon the state of the human frame and the quantity of fruit that is eaten, that very little like certainty can be inferred from the experience of many who have tasted it. Of the mango, I think, I may affirm this much, that if an individual traveling, as naturalists often do, in good health and spirits, were to pluck and eat the ripe fruit of the mango tree, he would find the flavor very agreeable, and never have any cause afterwards to regret that he had been enticed to partake of such a light and extemporaneous refreshment. When at home poring over my books and papers, I think it necessary to be a little circumspect in the use of nature's dainties, but when I am abroad upon any herborizing excursions, the system is so refreshed by exercise, and the mind so cheered with the delightful objects that woo it in every form, that I observe as little caution as the birds that warble in the nearest bush.

The bread-fruit trees are of a very lofty and magnificent kind, and seem to flourish exceedingly well in the alluvium of Macassar, but the fruit in variety and flavor comes very short of what we meet with in the Society Islands. My fellow-traveler was very anxious to taste them, in order that he might know how men fared at those celebrated places just mentioned. But I cautioned him against drawing any conclusions about the bread-fruit of the Society Islands from what he

had found it to be at Macassar. At Singapore we see here and there a tree, which would not attract our notice, were it not for the magnitude of its leaves, but we hear nothing of its fruit; at Macassar we behold a magnificent tree, whereof the fruitage is very handsome in size and shape, but of an indifferent flavor. At the Society Islands we have more than thirty varieties, all of them slightly fruit-bearing trees, and many yielding a harvest, which is in season ten months out of twelve, of the most wholesome and nutritious fruit. Its harmless nature and the readiness with which it may be digested are very note-worthy circumstances in its history. Experience has taught us that even after a long fast and hard labor, when the stomach is easily excited, it may be swallowed in any quantity. An uneasy tightness resulting from such excess ceases to be felt ten minutes after the meal, nor does any uneasy sensation recur afterwards to remind the eater that on a certain occasion hunger drove him into a forgetfulness of all the rules of regimen or diet. The shape of the fruit is elliptical, the transverse and conjugate axes bearing different ratios to each other in the several varieties. The outline of the form is very exact, and the surface is divided into cells in a kind of mosaic work, so that the whole appearance is such as one would not fail to recognise a second time. The little tesellæ which compose this natural mosaic are the remains of so many florets, which were placed so close together upon a common receptacle, that by the process of adhesion they had grown together and formed one uniform whole. There are two varieties in reference to the fertility of the fruit, one has seeds and the other is destitute of them, the latter sort is edible, the former is not. In the physiology of plants it is a curious fact, that in many instances the pulpy or edible portion of a fruit is in the inverse relation of that which is destined to propagate the species. The bread-fruit tree, which from the utility of its produce and the *incised* nature of its leaves is called the *artocarpus incisa*, stands as the head and representative of a family, which is known among botanists as the *Artocarpeæ*. This family includes the fig-tree, between which and the bread-fruit tree there is a very obvious affinity in the veneration or mode of leaf-budding. If we examine a branch of a fig-tree we shall find that it terminates in a little horn slightly inclined to one side. This little horn is made by the folding of the nascent leaf upon itself, just as one would roll up a piece of paper by twirling it between the finger and thumb. In the bread-fruit this horn is nearly three inches in length, and is at first inclosed within a sheath, which, after it has protected its nursling long enough, falls off, and thus gives it space to enlarge at liberty. All the branches terminate in magnificent tufts of leaves, and hang around in graceful curves like the feathers in the plumes, that are worn at the funerals of the great, while the bud just described prolongs in a striking manner the axis of the bough, and becomes the centre about which the foliage is disposed. When the tree is in fruit, these leaves range themselves at mid-day in such a way as to shade it, which is a kind provision of nature; for, while in the higher latitudes we cut away the leaves to

let the sun act, in order to ripen the juices, shade is necessary in regions near the equator to prevent their dissipation. The practice of clearing away the foliage to hasten the maturation of the fruit is finely alluded to in Isaiah xviii, 4, 5, where in the time of a 'clear heat' the sprigs are destined to be cut off with pruning hooks and the branches cut down and taken away. But in the hotter climes special arrangements are often made, that from the time in which the 'bud is perfect' the sun may never come at the fruit. Thus in the jambu apple of the Sandwich islands, in the jack-fruit and namnam of the Indian Archipelago, we must, in order to get a sight at the fruit, walk under the tree, when it will be seen clustering about the trunk or hanging from the larger branches. In the former part of these remarks, I spoke disparagingly of the bread-fruit at Macassar. I ought to add, that a native, who told me its name in his own language, spoke with great enthusiasm about the excellence of its taste and qualities.

The namnam, *Cynometra cauliflora*. As we have mentioned the namnam, it may not be amiss to say a few words by way of description, especially since it thrives as well at Macassar as it does in the peninsula of Malacca. It belongs to the leguminous or pod-bearing family, and produces a fruit which is said to be an exact counterpart of an apple. It has a grateful acid, and there is something in the flavor that imagination might liken to an apple, but I think, that any one who had not tasted this favorite of Europe even within the space of thirty years would perceive a wonderful difference between them. The pod, which enlarges into a fleshy pulp, is of a flattish and oval form, but so bent and contorted as to present a very fantastic and irregular outline. The surface is green and free from any kind of pubescence or roughness. The trunk of the tree is full of knots, which are studded with flowers and fruit. These knots are made up of incipient branches, whose growth was checked by the shade which the spreading top throws over them. But a circumstance, that was unfavorable for their development in leaves and twigs, is highly favorable for the production of fruit. And thus the matter is very well parted between those dwarfish branches that rear the fruit, and those that unfold themselves into a lovely vault to protect it from the keener rays of the sun. The leaf of the namnam is somewhat peculiar, and is composed of two one-sided leaflets. This peculiarity is explained by a reference to other members of the family, where the leaflets range themselves in pairs upon a common footstalk. The tree is about twenty feet high, and has the trunk, in all instances I have seen, divided into two or more lesser ones. Loftiness of stature, if we may draw an inference from the average of general analogy, does not seem to be compatible with divisions or with much inequality in the trunk of a tree. The very tall trees which we see in Malacca, Singapore, and Borneo, are remarkable for the straightness of their stems. In the language of Macassar, the Malayan namnam is changed to *num*; and, with the addition of *leko* a leaf, the tree is called *leko num-num*. As we pass along the bazar, we often hear the word *leko* 'the

leaf' applied with emphasis to the siri or betel leaf. There is an item in the beauty of this tree, which I had forgotten till a note reminded me of it, in the fresh-red color of the shoots, which is beautifully set off by profusion of green in their elder companions. At first sight one would be led to think that the top was in full flower, so lovely and striking is the variety of red and green.

The *Bilimbi* (*averrhoa bilimbi*,) is common in the Archipelago, but in no place did it look more happy than it did at Macassar. The boughs form a most graceful hemisphere, the leaves stand in numerous pairs upon a common footstalk, and the trunk is garnished with elegant flowers that breathe a charming fragrance. Some trees excite our admiration by the grandeur of their size, some by their wild and diffusive shape, and others by the gaiety of their blossoms, but the bilimbi by the elegance of its form. It is neatly embodied throughout, but the foliage seems to have been touched with the nicest regard to accuracy. It belongs to the same genus as the carambola, but yields a fruit that is much smaller, and, though prismatic, has not the large projecting corners which distinguish that fruit. The fruit of the bilimbi has a smart acid, and is used among other acid fruits in the preparation of curry, the favorite accompaniment of rice. It is in this way that several kinds of fruit are used and highly valued, though when gathered from the tree they are by no means palatable. If in referring to them a stranger asks, if they are good to eat, a native will answer in the affirmative, and perhaps employ the best terms he is master of to set forth their goodness. If the stranger should then taste the fruit, he would be very likely to think the native a knave or a blockhead for his pains. The ground of this misconception would be, that one had a dessert in his mind, while the other was thinking of his curry.

Providence, in giving the islander his food, has also imparted a lesson of practical wisdom, so that he turns to account the acid fruits as well as the aromatic roots that are so beautifully scattered around him. The *Averrhoa bilimbi* belongs to the Oxalidæ or wood-sorrel family, and, though the *Averrhoa* is a tree, and the *Oxalis* is a little plant, there are many obvious marks of affinity between them. Among the rest we find ten stamens, divided into two sets, in respect of their length, or one short and the other long alternately, as they form a little circle of palisados within the flower. The rudiment of the seed-vessel or fruit stands like a small obelisk in the centre, and has five jutting corners. In the wood-sorrel the seed is contained in a peculiar coat, which is plaited, and thus bears some resemblance to the valve of sea-shell. By the contraction of this peculiar covering the seed is jerked to a considerable distance, and is often thrown at the face of the botanist while he is inspecting a ripe capsule. In the *Averrhoa carambola* and bilimbi this beautiful *arillus*, as it is called, is exchanged for a thick fleshy covering, which we should think but little of, did not analogy suggest it to our notice. It has been a matter of question whether it can be rightly considered an *arillus* in the carambola, but I think we may settle the matter in our own minds, by

defining the *arillus* to be the expansion of the umbilical chord or thread that connects the seed to the central pillar. Such an expansion covers the seed of the carambola and bilimbi, which ought not to go without its name because it happens in this case to be without beauty.

One of the prettiest plants that beautify the hedges at Macassar is what seems to be the *Plectranthus scutellarioides* of Robert Brown. The native name I was not able to ascertain, though I took some pains to find it out, by asking individuals who took an interest in flowers. But being deficient in reputed virtues it has not perhaps been honored with a name, though I think its great loveliness might fairly entitle it to such a distinction. The flowers are of a most charming blue, and in form very much resemble the pea-blossom or leguminous family,—a resemblance that is curiously supported by the union of the filaments with each other, and the keel-shape of the nether lip, which is long and has its two sides pressed close together. I was much interested with these two marks of similarity between the labiate and the leguminous families; that resemblance in the shape of the corolla may be deemed accidental, for there is a playful variety in this respect among the species belonging to the genus *plectranthus*; but the latter is remarkable, and deserving of further investigation. Between the two families there is a wide difference in the fructification; for in the leguminous family we have the well known pod, whereas in the labiate, we find the rudiments of four seeds devoid of any other covering than that which is provided by their respective integuments. In the latter family, the square shape of the stem and the aromatic scent of the uniformly hairless foliage are characters that distinguish it from other families, and are easily recognised by the most indifferent observer. The stamens, in the plant we are describing, are hid within the folded sides of the lower lip, just as we usually find them in the pea and French bean, and thus their position offers another affinity. The leaves are of a fresh green color and in the shape and serrature resemble those of the nettle. The flowers occupy the summit of the stem, and extend downwards more than a span. Their color is that of the *Clitoria Ternatea*, or *Bunga kalintat*, and they have the free parts turned upwards by two bends of a contrary flexure in the long tube in which they terminate. Each bract or floral leaf supports three or more flowers, which were carefully wrapped up within it during the infancy of the estivation.

Tabu-tabu. This is the name given at Macassar to the *Costus speciosus*, where it makes a very showy figure in spots—those places which are occasionally inundated by the abundance of rain that falls there. The nectary, as the third and most conspicuous part of the flower, has some imaginary likeness to the shape of a lady's bonnet when inverted. It is large and white, and is beautifully fringed at the edge. There is a peculiar freedom in the size, and such a delicacy in the nature, of this fringe, that we cannot help regretting to see how soon it fades even upon the stem, and much more when we have removed it from its natural situation. Each flower is supported by

two or three floral leaves. The cup or calyx is divided into three lobes and is of a prismatic form. The corolla consists of three petals with their edges sometimes adhering to each other, and forms the second tier, as we ascend in the process of examination. The third tier should in the usual order be composed of stamens, two of which in the instance before us exist under the form of the magnificent nectary just described, that is united at its base with the filament of the solitary stamen. About this filament the nectary is doubled at first in a complete manner, like a piece of fine linen just dried after washing. I have long regarded this nectary as the representative of stamens, which have not undergone the usual process of transformation. In this view of the matter, we consider the leaf as changed into a division of the calyx, after a second change it becomes a part of the corolla, and after a third, a stamen. In the scitamineous family, this process has been interrupted, and we find only one perfect stamen, and a fine petaloid nectary in the place of other two. Some have found fault with the term nectary, as if its use were loose and inaccurate, but we shall understand ourselves, if we define it to be that portion of a flower which is made up of stamens in their preëxistent state, before the necessary work of transformation had prepared them for assuming that former office, which they are usually destined to fill in the economy of the plant. The leaves of this plant are sleek, and have a very silky feel when the hand is passed up and down upon their surface. The juice which flows out when the stem is broken is used as a collyrium, and the use of instrument and preparation are dispensed with by holding the stem over the eye, and suffering the moisture to distil into it as the head of the patient is moved up to receive it.

Tilepo or *Damasonium Indicum*. The petals of this pretty plant are of a delicate white, and serve to ornament the floods and pools not far from the residence of the governor. The most remarkable feature is seen in the nature of its long calyx, which has three corners according to the ternary scale which obtains in this and kindred families, and each of them adorned with a long fringe gathered up into a kind of flounce or furbelow. The leaves in form and in the disposition of their vessels resemble those of the *Plantago major*, or wayside plantain, common in Britain. These do not make their appearance above the surface, for he, who weighed the hills in a balance, knows the specific gravity of water, and has so nicely adjusted that of the leaves as to keep them always submerged, while the blossom, being relatively higher than the medium last mentioned, rises above the surface, that it may display its beauties and ripen its seed under the influence of the vital air. It is delightful to reflect upon the simple way in which the laws of hydrostatics are brought into action and made to bear a part in the economy of vegetation. In the same waters we find a species of *Mimosa*, with comparatively large yellow flowers and a very long floating stem, covered between the joints with a cellulous substance of great thickness. But notwithstanding the large supply of moisture that is laid up in these spongy receptacles, existence out of

the water is not to be tolerated for a moment, for as soon as you attempt to lift up one end of the stem the leaves begin to fold, the nearest first and then the more distant in succession. When the plant is restored again to its native element, the leaves once folded from such an injury never revive and expand, teaching us that this sensibility is something beyond the ordinary range of mechanical causes. A French experimentalist found some nervous matter in the sensitive *Mimosa*: I think this would have yielded him a copious supply for examination. I have magnifiers fitted for every purpose, but there are so many objects demanding attention of far greater importance, that I should not have been able to manage so delicate a business with much likelihood of success. I was not able to learn the native name, though a person endeavored to put me off by saying it was called *bimbang*, which is a proper epithet for any thing that is fickle and inconstant, or irresolute—as the human heart, for example, in selecting the objects of its choice and delight. It might be very well applied to a shrub which seemed so sensitive, so hard to please, and so ready to take offense, though it was then used for the first time to satisfy my inquiries.

The foregoing are only a few of the remarks which I made during our stay at Macassar; but, as many of them are in the form of memoranda or were embodied in drawings and sketches, it would be necessary for me to add what I can remember with what I know, in order to fit them for publication. The Psalmist tells us that the merciful and gracious Lord hath so done his wonderful works, that they ought to be had in remembrance. Experience assures me that a patient and well-directed study of the Creator's handy works is not only calculated to exercise and invigorate the mind, but it has also a tendency, when we truly love God, to soften and mellow the affections and make the heart better.

ART. II. *Sketch of Portuguese and Spanish intercourse with Japan, from its commencement in 1542 to their expulsion in 1640.*

[This article, and two others yet to appear—one on the Dutch and one on the English intercourse with Japan—were not written for the Repository; but as they embody many important facts, which are not to be found in our previous volumes, we are desirous of laying them before our readers. For information on Japan, see vols. i, p. 365; ii, 122, 318; iii, 145, 193.]

THE writings of Marco Polo gave the western world their earliest information respecting Japan. His account was, however, too little credited by his contemporaries to be made the basis of any adventures, commercial or political. It was left to accident to bring the Portuguese, the pioneers in eastern discovery and commerce, into actual contact with this remote empire. Fernando Mendez Pinto,

taking passage with his companions, in the junk of a Chinese pirate, from Ningpo to Lewchew, was driven by a gale to one of the western islands of the Japanese archipelago in 1542. It seems uncertain what degree of credit is to be attached to the account of Pinto, or whether the honor of the first intercourse does not belong as well to three other Portuguese bound to China from Macassar, who were wrecked on the coast of Satzuma in the same year.

The first reception of these strangers was favorable, and Pinto was sent to make his salutations to the prince of Bungo, whose power at that time extended over a great part of the island of Kiusiu. It is said that he acquired great favor by curing the prince of the gout and then had nearly lost it, together with his life, by an accident which befel his son in playing with his gun. The same year, the celebrated Xavier arrived at Goa, and began in India his apostolical career. Other Portuguese soon followed the track of Pinto, whether by his invitation or not does not appear; and a commercial intercourse began between the western parts of Japan and Macao,—or rather Lampaçao, the Portuguese settlement of that day, a few miles west of Macao. The rise and extent of this trade are only adverted to briefly and occasionally by the historians of the early intercourse with Japan. They were ecclesiastics, and the church, not the trade, naturally engaged their attention and occupied their pens. They tell us that a Japanese, who was suffering under horror of conscience for having committed a homicide, heard from one of the Portuguese traders of the sanctity of Xavier, and having left his home in search of him, found him at Malacca, about the year 1547; Xavier calmed his fears and placed him, together with one or two of his attendants, in the seminary at Goa. Delighted with his new convert, and assured by the Portuguese that the Japanese merited his best efforts, he determined to seek proselytes in that empire. He landed at Kagosima, with two companions and his convert, from a Chinese junk in 1549. The prince of Satzuma admitted him to an audience, and gave him permission to teach and preach the gospel in his dominions. The reason assigned for this reception is, that the prince saw the attachment of the merchants to the saint, and thought he should attract to himself, by these attentions, the resort of the Portuguese and a large share of their trade.

We must refer to Charlevoix for the detail of the miracles of Xavier, the opposition of the bonzes, and the fluctuating friendships of the Japanese princes of that day. It is evident, from all the accounts, that these princes were then almost independent sovereigns, consulting neither the daïri nor the seogun in their permission of foreign trade. The whole empire was then afflicted with all the evils of the feudal system, and a prey to frequent intestine commotions and civil wars. Notwithstanding the efforts of the prince of Satzuma to attract the Portuguese to his harbors, they appear to have had reasons for preferring the port of Firando, on an island to the northwest. Thither Xavier repaired, and was well received. He soon perceived, that if the favor of a petty prince was worth seeking, much more that

of the head of the empire. Miako was, at that time, the residence of the daïri and the seogun (kubo), but nevertheless deserted and in ruins from the disturbed state of the times. Thither Xavier determined to proceed, and, though hostile parties were traversing the country, the roads broken up and bridges destroyed, the zealous missionary accomplished his purpose. Unhappily, he could obtain no audience either of the spiritual or temporal ruler, and, unsuccessful also in his public preaching, he returned to Firando. Had we not been told of his possession of the gift of tongues, we could easily explain his ill-success in his public ministration. It would appear from the annals of those times, that most of the first Catholic missionaries, instead of being popular favorites, were very often the objects of public derision and abuse. Attention was, however, afterward awakened, and Xavier appears next as an object, at least, of general curiosity, complaining that crowds of visitors left him no time to say mass, or even to recite his breviary. His journeys through the principalities of Kiusiu, his public disputations with the bonzes, to say nothing of his miracles, added to his celebrity; and the faith he preached had acquired many followers before he left Japan, in November, 1551. He never returned, death putting a period to his labors the year after on the coast of China.

His successors in Japan relied chiefly for the building up of the church on private efforts, such as the relief of the poor, the support of hospitals, &c. These measures were eminently successful, and, in 1551, we find one of the ablest of the Jesuits preaching in Miako by permission of the seogun, and gaining friends if not converts among the higher classes, although opposed by the populace and the bonzes as before. Three years later, the prince of Omura became the firm supporter of the foreigners, opening his ports to the Portuguese, and his territories to the missionaries. From Omura, the faith spread into Arima and other principalities of Kiusiu.

In 1565, the friendly seogun was cut off by a rebellion, and the favors he had granted were revoked by his successor. It is recorded, that in the following year, the Christians at Firando sent a vessel to India for the decorations of their new church, from which it would appear that they were in possession of considerable wealth. The prince of Firando had now become unfriendly, and the Christians removed to a port in the principality of Omura. The fleet which arrived from China that year, followed to the new harbor, and this so enraged the prince of Firando, that he dispatched a squadron to destroy it, but without effect. The withdrawal of the privileges granted in 1559 lasted but three years, when a new revolution placed a new seogun on the throne, and the Christians were again taken into favor. These frequent rebellions against the chief authority correspond perfectly with the quick succession of quarrels on a lesser scale, which raged at this period between the feudal princes, and seem to have left but few spots within the empire at peace.

About this time, the Portuguese first pointed out to the prince of Omura the advantages of the harbor of Nagasaki over the ports they

had hitherto frequented. Their suggestions led to the formation of a settlement, which ere long became an important city, and retains an unhappy celebrity down to our own day. It may give some idea of the rapid extension of Catholicism at this time, to add, that the successor of Xavier died in 1570, having founded fifty churches, and baptized more than 30,000 converts with his own hands. Yet, mingled with these successes, we have accounts of the apostacy of one prince, and of the persecutions inflicted by order of another. A still happier era for the faith opened with the reign of Nobunanga in 1570. This monarch was the firm friend of foreign intercourse, and in his reign, so great were the additions to the church, that when the visitor-general came, in 1579, to inspect the establishments of the Jesuits at Miako, he was told that one of that order had baptized 70,000 converts within two years. The periods when Romanism extended itself seem also to have been those when commerce flourished; probably because the prosperity of both was built on the same foundation, the favor and protection of the feudal princes and the court. In these early times, we hear none of those complaints of the scandalous conduct of the mercantile adventurers, which are set forth in the wane of Jesuitism as the stumblingblock in its path. We do not think this an unaccountable circumstance. Probably, in these first years of Portuguese commerce, cupidity itself was satisfied with the rate of profit, and the merchant and the priest, alike successful, had nothing to charge on each other. The merchant seems to have contributed liberally to the promotion of the designs and efforts of the priest, and to have had his reward in the favor of the Christian princes, until the Jesuit lost his influence, and both became the object of a common proscription.

One of the most interesting incidents in the history of this period, is the account of the embassy sent to his holiness by the princes of Omura, Bungo, and Arima. Three young nobles composed this mission, which arrived at Lisbon in August, 1583. The crown of Portugal was then on the head of Philip II. of Spain, and his splendid court was put in motion to receive these youthful converts to Catholicism from the farthest east. Extravagant attentions were lavished on them in the peninsula, which were renewed in Italy, until the young Japanese were at length carried to the feet of his holiness, and there paid their homage to the head of the church. They returned to their own country in 1586.

The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, just adverted to, took place in 1580. Eleven years before, an expedition from New Spain, under Legaspi, had founded Manila as the future capital of the Philippine Islands, and annexed that valuable group permanently to the Spanish crown. It was a favorite idea with the founders of Manila, that it should be made the mart of the East. To realize this idea, it was required that all the commerce between the opposite coasts of Asia and America should pass through it. Its merchants, thus favored, soon became wealthy, and impatient to share with those of Macao the further profits of the trade with Japan. It does not

appear that they had attempted to realise his desire so soon after the settlement of Manila as 1581. We do not find any mention of Spanish vessels in Japan so early as this, and, as the whole period from this time down to the common expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, is covered by the union of the two crowns, we think better to treat of them together:

The example of Nobun^{ang} was imitated by many of his courtiers, so that when he was killed in 1582, his successor Fide Yosi (the famous Taiko) found himself under the necessity of favoring the Jesuits, many of his best officers being their friends. He was visited in 1585 by the chief of the Jesuit missions, and at the audience which took place, Taiko granted all his requests. It is even said that this monarch's refusal to give up his harem was at this time the only reason that he was not himself baptized. It is more probable that this great but unprincipled sovereign never felt any interest in Christianity; further than it could be made to subserve his ambitious designs. Had nothing stood between him and open submission to Rome, but the obstacles above-mentioned, it is easy to suppose that it would have been got over, by men who seem to have absolved the feudal princes friendly to them from a commandment of at least equal authority—'thou shalt not kill.' The bright prospects with which the year 1587 opened were soon overcast. The seogun began to express his suspicions of the character and designs of the Jesuits, and this language was soon followed by overt acts. The refusal of a Portuguese captain to bring his ship to the port where Taiko was, that he might see it, is mentioned as one cause of this unfortunate change. Another reason was also assigned, the refusal of the ladies of Christian families to share the royal bed. Probably these were at most only occasions for a change of measures, suggested by political views. Taiko did not long conceal his determination, and the first edict for the banishment of the Catholic missionaries was published June 25th, 1587. They were required to retire to Firando within twenty days, and to depart for India within six months, on pain of death. The crosses they had erected were ordered to be thrown down, and the churches rased. The Portuguese trade was permitted to go on as before, but the merchants were forbidden to bring any more missionaries, or to speak on religious subjects with the Japanese. A hundred and twenty missionaries left their stations in submission to this edict, and retired to Firando. An order then came for them all to embark in a ship about to sail for India. This was the *test*: a few obeyed, but the greater number refused to abandon their flocks, and once more scattered themselves through the principalities of Omura, Bungo, &c.

It does not appear that this edict was carried into full effect; but the churches at Miako, Oösaka, and other principal cities were destroyed the following year. The seogun had now taken his side; and the Portuguese envoy from Goa, two years afterward, though admitted to an audience, could do nothing towards getting the fatal edict reversed. Taiko now declared war on China, and as an intermedi-

ate measure resolved on the conquest of Corea. The missionaries ascribed this step not so much to ambition, as to a secret design to rid himself of the Christians among his officers and troops, by sacrificing them in a foreign war. That he cherished the design of extirpating them is inferred from his after life, and that he was unwilling to accomplish it by domestic persecution, is shown by the fact, that of 200 priests and 1,800,000 converts then in his dominions, he put only 26 or 27 to death. Perhaps the monarch looked still farther, and aimed at the reduction of the whole feudal nobility, by permitting commerce on the one hand, and on the other by sending his nobles to perish in battle in China and Corea. However this may be, his vanity and ambition need not be denied; there is good proof of both, were all other wanting, in his demand made in 1592, that the governor of the Philippines should pay him homage, a claim which he prosecuted for many years. This demand appears to have been suggested by a Japanese, who had been at Manila, and who was employed by Taiko to enforce it. The history of this claim is interesting, not merely because it proves that the monarch was vain and ambitious, but as it shows something of the delicate and tangled state of the Portuguese and Spanish intercourse with Japan at the time. A restless, worthless adventurer, to recommend himself to his sovereign, and to get employment, promises that the Philippines shall become an appendage of Japan. The missionaries are required to press the demand. Thus they become involved. The governor at Manila is embarrassed between the plain answer which his duty dictates, and the evasive one suggested by fear of compromising the trade with Japan. Several communications and envoys are exchanged, by whose tenor and language, the seogun is alternately pleased and displeased. At length, the truth comes out. The governor must declare that he cannot transfer his allegiance without the consent of his master, the king of Spain. The agents of Taiko, implicated in the failure and falsity of their assurance, charge the Jesuits with exerting their influence against them; and the irritated monarch issues new orders that their churches and houses be demolished.

In order to understand the subsequent history of the intercourse we are tracing, it must be remembered, that the Jesuits and all the early missionaries reached Japan through Portugal and Macao, while the later friars of other orders came through Manila, and mostly from Spain. Priestly emulation and commercial rivalry were not to be prevented so easily as by a union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. The Spanish friars and the merchants of Manila would not be excluded from the parishes and ports of Japan. The Jesuits and the traders from Macao were no less desirous to maintain their prior claims. The governors of the two places seem also to have taken sides, as masters of separate colonies, rather than as servants of the same crown. A new difficulty then arose. The Jesuits, from Xavier down, had been politic men. It does not appear that they were chargeable with any deviation from those rules, calculated to bring Christianity into disrepute. When the sad reverse in their situation

came, they yielded to the storm, their visitor reminding them that 'their business was not to rush on martyrdom, but to win souls to Christ.' The Dominicans, Augustines, and Franciscans, came too late to share the first triumphs of the Jesuits, but imbued with principles which precipitated, while they involved their holders even more deeply in, the reverses of the church. The late comers seem to have preached more boldly, but generally to have acted with less wisdom, and consequently with greater hazard and diminished success. Both, however, appear to have agreed in understanding the direction — 'when persecuted in one city flee ye to another' — to mean that the fugitive should not pass beyond the bounds of the persecuting state. They did wrong in misrepresenting each other, and in throwing on each other the blame of the changes from worse to worse, which succeeded; but when the hour of danger arrived, instead of escaping or even yielding, they laid down their lives with equal constancy, if their own accounts be true, at the same fire, or in the same fosse.

The war with Corea and China terminated in favor of the Japanese, in 1593. An army of the victors remained in garrison along the eastern coast of the conquered peninsula, and under the protection of its friendly officers, Christianity made considerable progress there. Meanwhile the breach between the Jesuits and the other priestly orders was widening. The king of Spain and the pope had taken part with the former; but their joint edict — that none but Jesuits should go to Japan — failed of the intended effect. Others continued to come, as the messengers of the governor of Manila, or under different pretexts, and from time to time exasperated the Japanese authorities by open attempts to celebrate mass and to preach.

New troubles arose from another source in the year 1596. The galleon for that year, on her way from Manila to Acapulco was driven near the Japanese coast, and enticed by the prince of Tosa to enter one of his ports. There she was embargoed, and her commander negotiated in vain for her release. In the course of his negotiation, one of the company sought to produce an impression by pointing out to the Japanese officers on a map the extensive territories of the king of Spain. The Japanese asked with surprize, 'how is it that your king has managed to possess himself of half the world?' The Spaniard replied, 'he commences by sending priests, who win over the people, and when this is done, his troops are dispatched to join the native Christians, and the conquest is easy and complete.' When this answer was reported to Taiko, he swore in his wrath that not one of them should be left alive. New edicts of banishment followed, and twenty-three priests (some say twenty-six) suffered martyrdom.*

* In the Franciscan church at Maçaq there is a painting commemorative of this event, and beneath it is the following inscription.

"Glorious martyrdom of the twenty-three saints, proto-martyrs of Japan, of the Seraphic Order of the Philippines, martyred by the order of emperor Taycosama at Nagasaki, on the 5th of February, 1597; and canonized by the most holy P. Urban VIII., in the year 1627.

† J. St. Peter Baptist, lecturer on arts, provincial ex-superior, H. C. majesty's ambassador, provisional commissioner in Japan, and the first elected bishop

The annual galleon to New Spain was, in these days, the most lucrative part of the trade of Manila. Billets of permission to lade merchandise on board of it were of great value, and were distributed by a regular assignment to the officers, citizens, and public charities, of that place. The loss of the one confiscated at Tosa was not to be passed over lightly, and an envoy was sent to Taiko to reclaim the ship. He received the messenger; but, in an able answer, justified himself. He declared that the Spaniards had behaved like pirates, and that their property had been confiscated as such. He offered a safe conduct to all Spanish ships which should come without missionaries on board, and he authorized the governor of Manila to punish in the same way any Japanese at that place who should merit it; but as for the galleon, he would not give her up. We need not attempt, at this distance of time, to determine whether she was or was not a lawful prize.

The new persecutions gave rise to mutual recriminations, and the merchants, the Jesuits, and the priests of other orders, alike charged each other with the present disasters. As to foreign commerce, it seems always to have been regarded with favor by the Japanese. If the feudal chieftains were ever, at any time, ready to quarrel with the merchant, it was because he would *not* come to *their* ports. The emperor seem never to have forbidden any importation, except that of priests. If commerce contributed at all to the late edicts, it did so through the mutual misrepresentations of the rival traders of Manila and Macao, and perhaps through some few instances of personal misconduct. The idea of protecting domestic interests by the discouragement of commerce seems never to this day to have entered into the head of either a Chinese or Japanese. As to the Jesuits, the charges laid against them were rebutted by strong vindications at the time, and the king of Spain and the pope appear to have uniformly taken their part. Among other things they were accused of the possession

native of Avila in Spain: aged 48. 2. St. Martin de Lugnes, native of Varanguza in Biscaya, aged 30. 3. St. Francis, native of Marte Rei, in Galicia; aged 30. 4. St. Gonçalo Gracias, native of Bassain in the E. Indies. 5. St. Philip de Jesus, native of Mexico, a chorist. 6. St. Francis de S. Miguel, native of Parrilha, a chorist. 7. St. Louis, aged 10. 8. St. Antony, aged 12. 9. St. Thomas Cosague, aged 15. 10. St. Ibarque, of Dryerque. 11. St. Mathias, of Macao. 12. St. Leão Carainumaro de Graã, brother to St. Paul Ibarque, and uncle to St. Louis. 13. St. Boaventura de Meaie. 14. St. Joaquim Tauaquaibara, aged 40. 15. St. Francis, *Medico*, aged 16. 16. St. Thomas Danoque-danque, 2d interpreter. 17. St. Joaõ Chonoutja. 18. St. Gabriel, of the kingdom of Iscade, aged 19. 19. St. Paul Surquevi, of the kingdom of Oara, interpreter. 20-23 natives of Japan.

Sentence of the emperor of Japan, Taycosama.

“I have condemned to death these prisoners for their having come from the Philippines to Japan under the pretended title of ambassadors, and for their having persisted in my hands without my permission, and preached the Christian religion against my decree. I order and wish that they be crucified in my city of Nagasaki.”

of great wealth. This led to an exposition of their means of support. It appeared that they started with an annual allowance of 500 crowns from the king of Portugal, which was afterwards increased to a thousand. The municipality of Macao invested them with one valuable right of citizenship, in allowing them the profits of fifty out of 1600 bales of silk shipped annually to Japan, a perquisite which was afterwards increased to the gain on ninety bales. This connection with commerce, the Jesuits defended by many precedents, particularly by the custom of granting the annual profits on a certain quantity of sugars shipped to Europe, for the mission in Brazil. Besides these moderate rations, the Jesuit missions were supported by their Japanese friends and converts. The triumph of the Portuguese over the Spanish party was, at length, assured by the superior influence of the former in Europe, and a bull was issued in 1598, requiring all religious of other orders, who wished to visit Japan, to go out *viâ* Macao under the Portuguese flag. All who had found their way thither through Manila, were required to return. As an additional justification of the Jesuits, it is recorded, that even an Augustine friar at Acapulco, published a vindication of their order, and that this was signed by a *great number of Japanese*, as well as Spaniards and others at that port.

It appears, therefore, more probable, that the zealous missionaries from Manila were the party, the least unjustly charged with bringing Catholicism into distrust with the Japanese. Perhaps no prudence on their part, however, would have prevented the suspicious Taiko from taking measures against any influence favorable to the king of Spain, from gaining ground in his dominions. But there is one count, however, from which neither Jesuit, Dominican, Augustine, nor Franciscan will, in our day, be discharged. They took no proper measures to make the true spirit and tendency of Christianity known. Though masters of the language, the Bible was never translated into it, and though admitted to the royal presence, their *entrée* was never used to teach that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. The bearing of Christianity on the relations of ruler and subject were never shown. Their converts among the princes do not seem to have been ever taught, that war is no proper employment for the followers of the Prince of Peace. The Jesuit sought to gain his end by favor, and the noble his, by force. The sad result was, that, while the spiritual guide fell under the denunciation, 'cursed be the man who putteth his trust in man,' they who 'took the sword, perished by the sword.'

In September, 1598, Taiko died, and soon after the supreme authority was usurped by the prince to whom he had committed his infant son. The Christians breathed again. Yeye Yasou, or Gongin, the new seogun, fixed his residence at Suruga; and though some of the petty princes exercised the right of persecution occasionally, Romanism on the whole flourished for the first ten years of his reign. The return of many of the Christian officers from Corea, soon after the death of Taiko, was an accession of strength to the Catholic

cause. The Spanish party, however, became involved in troubles again as early as 1604. The seogun hearing that the governor of the Philippines was attempting the conquest of the Moluccas, ordered all the Spanish priests to be gone. A more general edict against the public preachers followed in 1606; but neither of these seem to have been acted on. The number of converts now amounted again to 1,800,000. Commerce was also in a flourishing state, its profits set down at 100 per cent., and the returns enriching Macao especially with an annual import of two or three thousand chests of silver, and several hundred tons of gold! Manila too enjoyed its share of these precious returns. These statements of profits are, however, too imperfect to be relied on, nor do we know that there are any correct returns of this trade in existence at the present time.

In 1608, a sad casualty, fraught with the worst consequences, occurred at Macao. The crew of a Japanese junk, in a riotous state, provoked a contest with the military, and twenty-eight of them were killed. The governor, Pessoa, by whose order they were fired on, conducted the annual ship to Japan the following year. The report of his conduct was not slow in following him, carried probably by the Dutch, who arrived there the same year in the first ship sent by their East India Company. The recent liberation of the Hollanders from the tyranny of Philip II., and their vivid recollections of the atrocities of the duke of Alva and his coadjutors, must be allowed to palliate their voluntary information, and their proposal to seize the ship of Pessoa, present her to the seogun, and in future to supply the country with the articles which the Portuguese had hitherto furnished. While the seogun hesitated, a Spanish vessel was wrecked on the coast, having on board the governor of the Philippine Islands on his way to New Spain. The shipwrecked governor was introduced at court, and asked if the Spaniards could supply Japan with silks, &c., if the Portuguese were driven away. The reply was, that Manila could furnish three times as much as Macao. Thus doubly assured, the order was given to seize the ship, behead Pessoa, expel the Jesuits, and give their establishments to the Spanish priests. Pessoa, informed that his ship was threatened, returned to defend her, and on the first attack the Japanese were repulsed. The seogun, in a rage, issued his commands that every Portuguese in Nagasaki should be put to death. But this was unnecessary; on the 9th of January, 1610, the attack was renewed, Pessoa and his crew overpowered, and the ship burned. Thus avenged, the monarch relaxed his fury, and permitted the Portuguese to continue their trade.*

A small vessel built by the Englishman Adams was sold to the shipwrecked Spanish governor, in which he proceeded on his voyage. To pay for this vessel, and to frame a commercial treaty, an envoy

* The destruction of this vessel is supposed to have given rise to the story of a Spanish ship having been cut off by the Japanese, after her three decks had been blown up in succession by the crew, and a vast number of the assailants destroyed. The chief points of the affair as related by Kämpfer will be found in the Chinese Repository, vol. iii, page 209.

was sent from New Spain the following year. The seogun was offended at the importance which the ambassador assumed. He required permission to build vessels in the harbors of Japan, which was not refused. But when he denounced the Dutch as rebellious subjects of his master, and demanded that they should be expelled, he was answered, that the Japanese sovereign had nothing to do with the quarrels of Europeans, and that no one should be driven from his dominions, who lived there in obedience to the laws. The same answer was made to the envoy's demand that all Spaniards who had no royal license to come to Japan should be given up to him to be conveyed to New Spain.

The papal regulation, that all priests should go to Japan only by way of Macao, was now annulled, very probably by desire of the Jesuits, who saw that of the two flags, the Portuguese was the lower in the seogun's esteem. A new influence was now brought to act against the Catholics by the establishment of an English factory at Firando, in 1613. The Dutch and English made common cause against the Spaniards and Portuguese. The representations of the former party appear to have been admitted; and when the other came to present their memorial, the seogun replied, that were the Dutch *devils*, they should be well treated so long as they behaved well in conducting their trade.

The influence of this contest was first seen in partial persecutions in 1612 and 1613, and its full effect became apparent in the edict of January, 1614. This was a sweeping 'order for the demolition of churches and the banishment of the priests.' A great number of these, accompanied by their most distinguished converts, retired to Manila and Macao. A thousand exiles are said to have betaken themselves to the former place, but many of them returned in disguise. But for another unfortunate event, Jesuitism might perhaps still have weathered the storm. The seogun now resolved to destroy the son of Taiko, whose authority he had been content hitherto to usurp, lest, after his own death, the existence of a legitimate claimant should frustrate his plan of leaving the crown to his own son. The missionaries took the side of legitimacy, the usurper was victorious, and to punish them for their interference, he renewed the persecution, and commanded that whoever harbored them, should be condemned to death. Their persecutor died in 1616, but they gained nothing by his demise. Fide Fada, the successor of Gongin, faithfully observed the last injunctions of his father to eradicate Christianity, and not to leave within his dominions a single priest. The edict of 1616, unlike most of its predecessors, was carried into immediate and severe execution; and for three or four years the persecuted Catholics languished in prison, or endured all the torments that cruelty could invent. The number of missionaries was soon reduced to fifty-six. In 1620, the search after the adherents of the obnoxious faith slackened, but the fires of persecution were again kindled in 1622, when the distinguished Spinola and many others were burned. These sufferings of the missionaries are said not to have touched the hearts of

their adversaries, the Dutch. Under this date, it is mentioned, that, having captured a Japanese junk from Manila with its owner and some priests on board, the Dutch denounced the unfortunate men, and gave the testimony on which they were condemned to death. It is necessary to call in the rapacity of the pirate, the avarice of the monopolist, and the vengeance of the fugitive from the cruelty of Alva, to account for so horrid an act.

In 1623, the son of Fide Fada was associated with his father in the administration of affairs, and the new besom was applied afresh to sweep Christianity from the land. A Spanish embassy arrived from Manila in the midst of the persecutions of 1624. It was rejected without a reception as the creature of the banished priesthood, and closely guarded until it was ready to depart. The persecutions of this year extended to the violation of the Christian graves. Before the year had expired, the Spaniards were banished for ever, and the ports of Japan closed against the foreigners, except Nagasaki for the Portuguese, and Firando for the Dutch. Severer restrictions were also laid upon the Chinese and Coreans. The part of these edicts which respected the Spaniards was soon after put to the test. Six vessels from Manila arrived at Nagasaki, but the port was shut against them, and proclamation made that if any more came they should be burned. A new expedient was now resorted to, which completely cut off the communications of the priests. A deputy of the governor of Nagasaki was placed at Macao, whose duty it was to examine the Portuguese vessels bound to Japan, and to send by them lists of all persons and effects on board. If when the vessel thus reported was about returning to Macao, there was but one person missing, all the company was held responsible in the forfeit of their lives. It is difficult for us to realize at the present day, that there ever was a time when the Japanese merchants traded from India to Acapulco, and when an agent of their government actually resided at Macao.

Persecution seems to have raged with little intermission from 1627, up to the death of Fide Fada in 1631. The boiling crater of Mount Ungen was now a common instrument of death. These cruelties appear at last to have made an impression even on the Dutch. Perhaps their horror was partly caused by the thought that they might come in for a share in the persecutions, as well as for a part in the restrictions on trade. The character of the vicious and cruel Yeye Mitsou, the successor of Fide Fada, was already well known. By his orders, Desima (a little islet off Nagasaki,) was constructed at a great cost, and to this new prison the Portuguese were consigned in 1635, amid the derisions of the shortsighted Dutch. The armaments of their ships were now taken away, no one was suffered to speak to a native on religion, nor to walk into the city without a guard. Their native wives, and the children by these connexions, were ordered to be shipped off to Macao. The following year was marked by the introduction of the ceremony of trampling on the cross.

The deathblow of Catholicism in Japan was now about to be struck, and we are told that the fury that dealt it, was roused by the discovery

of a conspiracy against the throne, formed by the native Christians and the Portuguese. Some papers found on board a Portuguese vessel captured off the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch, are said to have brought this treason to light. It is not, however, necessary to credit this tale. It is easier to fabricate a letter or the story of a letter than to conspire: forgery is less hazardous than treason. Besides the story has been denied most solemnly by the Jesuits, and their word cannot be worse than that of those on which its credibility rests. Moreover, another and a better cause for the wrath of the seogun was at hand. The patience, which had borne, with heroic if not Christian constancy, so many trials, was exhausted, and the native Catholics of Arima and Simabara flew to arms. A body, amounting to 38,000 men, fortified themselves in the latter place. The besieging army, 80,000 strong, could not reduce the fortress, and the Dutch director, Kockebecker, was summoned to its aid. He came. The walls of Simabara were battered by Dutch cannon, and its brave defenders perished to a man, fighting to the last. Some shadow of an apology might again be made for this coöperation at the siege of Simabara, had its defenders been the countrymen of Alva, or Requesens, or John of Austria, or Alexander Farnese. But truth requires that the measures of Kockebecker should be regarded as the alternative which he deliberately preferred to an interruption of the Dutch trade. Our sense of his guilty choice cannot be expressed in stronger language, than by declaring it unparalleled in the dark history of Dutch intercourse with the East. Henceforth, the residence of that nation in Japan can be regarded only as an *Aceldama*—its purchase a river of innocent blood.

Instigating to rebellion was now added to the charges against the Portuguese. Their ships were ordered away, and henceforth they were to be treated as enemies should they return. This intelligence caused great consternation at Macao. Four of the most distinguished citizens, who voluntarily offered themselves, were deputed to soften the rigorous proceedings of the government of Japan. They arrived at Nagasaki in July, 1640, and were immediately put under arrest. The edict condemning all Portuguese who should enter Japan was read to them, and on their confession that they were aware of its existence they were sentenced to death. The following impious inscription was placed over their common grave: 'So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the king of Spain himself, or the Christians' God, or the great Saca, if he violate this prohibition, shall pay for it with his head.' The ship which carried the ambassadors was burned, and the crew returned by another conveyance to Macao. The people of that city abandoned with horror all further attempts, on hearing their terrible tale.

The same year, a revolution separated Portugal from Spain. The new king of the house of Braganza determined to send an envoy to Japan. He arrived at Nagasaki in 1646. An audience was not granted him, but more fortunate than his predecessors, his coming

was not construed as a crime. Four years after, the seogun died. His successor Yeye-tsuma had no further work to do; Catholicism was extinct, and persecution ceased; but the laws which forbade the approach of its teachers, and made it a capital offense for any Japanese to go abroad, continued in force. The only instances, we know of, in which these laws have been contravened by the Spaniards or Portuguese, are the following, and with them we close this sketch.

In the fifth year of Tsuma-yosi, successor of Yeye-tsuma (1685), a Japanese junk was driven by a tempest to Macao. The crew were kindly treated and sent home. The vessel which carried them was admitted to Nagasaki, and it does not appear that any harm was done to the shipwrecked men, but the Portuguese were dismissed with an order never to come again. For some years after this incident, it is said that a few Catholics remained in the prisons of Japan. In 1709, the abbé Sidotti made the last known attempt to enter that empire. He had studied the language two years at Manila, and embarked thence in August, 1709. He was landed on a rocky part of the coast of Kiusiu at midnight, in October of that year.* His fate has never been known. Different rumors respecting him were afterwards received, and from them it is probable that he met a violent death.

'God only knows,' says Charlevoix, in closing his history, 'if a soil which has been tilled with so great labor, which has produced so many saints and heroes, and which so many martyrs have watered with their blood, shall ever bear fruit again.'

* We are told that the vessel from which Sidotti landed made her passage back to Manila in eight days.

ART. III. *Memorial from the governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, to the emperor, regarding the existing state of the contraband trade, &c. Dated December 30th, 1837.*

THE governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, respectfully forward this joint memorial to the emperor, respecting the measures adopted against the receiving ships, the actual condition of those ships, and the repeated seizures made of sycee silver and opium, and of the boats which supply the ships with provisions,—in answer to imperial commands. They entreat his majesty graciously to condescend to examine this report.

In the month of October, we received, through the grand council of state, an imperial decree, of the following tenor:

"Táng and his colleagues (the lieutenant-governor and hoppo) have sent in a report, from which it appears that they had given orders to drive the receiving ships away, and had adopted measures to seize the opium-dealers and smugglers. The English receiving ships,

with those of other nations, under pretence of seeking shelter against storms, have of late years sailed into the inner seas. The hong merchants were therefore ordered to enjoin it upon the superintendent of the said nation, that he should make all the receiving ships, anchored at Lintin and other places, return to their country, and should not permit them, as formerly, to remain at anchor and loiter about. As soon as the receiving ships should get under weigh to return to their country, the hong merchants had orders to report the same.

“It is found, on examination, that an entire clearance of the fast-boats (a class of smuggling boats) has been made; but the various classes of vessels still engaged in smuggling are yet numerous, and their nefarious practices, as well as those of the opium-dealers, are such as cannot be permitted to go on. Therefore, orders have been issued to the civil as well as naval authorities, diligently to direct the cruisers under their command, in making careful search and seizing all such offenders.

“One of the greatest evils under which the province of Canton groans, is, that foreign vessels, anchoring in the inner seas, form connections for smuggling. The governor and the others ought to investigate carefully, whether the said foreign superintendent has indeed obeyed the injunctions, and the foreign ships have now sailed, or not: and they must, by all means, compel every one of them to return home without delay. If, however, they dare to compromise this matter, and I, the emperor, should afterwards, upon inquiry, hear of it, or any one should bring an accusation to that effect, I shall, in that case, only hold the said governor and his colleagues responsible. The most severe measures must be adopted against the smuggling craft, that their seizure may be effected; and my expectation is, that they may be extirpated, root and branch. After having made an occasional seizure, let it not immediately be said, that the whole are annihilated, and room so be left for continued illegalities and crimes.

“Acquaint with these orders Täng and Ke, and let them transmit the same to Wän (the hoppo). Respect this.”

[Here ends the quotation of the imperial order to which the authorities make the following reply.]

We, your ministers, read this, in a kneeling posture, with the deepest veneration, admiring the care bestowed by your majesty upon a corner of the sea, and the earnest desire shown for the removal of the existing evils.

Having carefully examined the charts of the inner and outer seas, we find that the Ladrone islands constitute their boundary. Beyond them is the wide and boundless ocean, the black water of the foreign seas, which are not under the control of the central territory. Inside of them, at the offings, for instance, of Lintin, the Nine Islands, and other places, are the ‘outer seas,’ which are under the jurisdiction of Canton. Where the sea washes the shores of the interior districts, it is called the ‘inner sea,’ and of such inlets Kumsing Moon affords an instance. Foreign ships, since 1830, under pretence of seeking shelter from the winds, have sailed frequently into Kumsing

Moon, during the fourth and fifth months, and have remained at anchor there until the ninth. As soon as the north wind set in, they removed to Lintin and anchored there. In the winter of last year we prohibited this most severely, and also erected a battery at the entrance, whilst we stationed there a naval squadron, to prevent most strenuously the ingress of the ships. No foreign craft therefore entered, but they continued to anchor at Lintin and the adjoining places. Whilst, thus, no receiving ship now remains in the 'inner seas,' it is nevertheless a fact that they still exist in the 'outer seas.'

Formerly, in regard to the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, the commanders of the cruisers always stated, that their coming and going were so uncertain, that their actual number could not be ascertained. We, your ministers, however, conceiving that the names and the number of the receiving ships were generally known, and that it was requisite to obtain accurate information regarding them, before adopting measures against them, would not permit them thus to conceal the facts and refrain from speaking out freely—thus 'to close the ear while the earrings were being stolen.' We, therefore, last year gave orders to all the naval cruisers, to ascertain their exact numbers, and whether from time to time any arrived or went away, and to present reports regarding their movements every ten days. They communicated the result of their investigation, having found, after due examination, that there were altogether twenty-five sail which had stayed there for a long time. The greater number were English country-ships; and there were besides, under the American, French, Dutch, Manila, and Danish flags, of each from one or two to three or four. Some came, and others went; but their average number did not exceed this. These, then, are the facts as to the existing number of the receiving ships.

When, in obedience to the imperial orders, we had issued, this year, our strict injunctions to the said hong merchants and the superintendent Elliot, to send these ships back to their country—a naval captain subsequently reported, that, in September, one single ship, a Dutch one, had lifted her anchors and sailed out beyond the Ladrone Islands. The truth of this we have ascertained by inquiry. Since, however, only one vessel had left, we could not then report the circumstance; for the remainder, although they also had hoisted their sails and lifted their anchors, yet, moving some to the east, and others to the west, they had none of them proceeded beyond the Ladrone Islands. Though unwilling to offer contumacious disobedience, yet they cannot refrain from lingering about, indulging hopes and anticipations. For these are not matters of one year alone, nor are the vessels from one country only. Though the opium is contraband, yet to them it is a property highly valuable, and these depraved barbarians, hankering after gain alone, are therefore unwilling to throw this commodity away, and use every possible expedient and means to obtain some temporary respite. This is the true cause why it is yet a fact, that all the receiving ships have not within the allotted period sailed away.

We, your majesty's ministers, are under the highest obligations, for having been vouchsafed the great and high favor of being entrusted with the command of the sea coast; and our duty is to eradicate every corrupting and vicious practice. We received, on a previous occasion, the expression of your majesty's pleasure, enjoining us to issue orders to the hong merchants in regard to the sending home of the receiving ships. We have now again received a proof of your majesty's condescension, in investigating these matters; and, burning with the deepest anxiety, we are filled with fear and trembling. Having again issued severe orders to the hong merchants, Howqua and the others, to command the instant departure of these vessels, they reported to us, that the superintendent Elliot would not give them a precise answer to this requirement, and that, in reply to their inquiries addressed to the foreign merchants, they were told, that the receiving ships were not the property of those merchants, and it was therefore out of their power to drive them away. Thus they, on all hands, make excuses, and again seek for delay.

We, your ministers, have found, on examination, that, according to law, whenever foreigners prove refractory, the trade ought to be stopped, in order to give a fair warning and merited punishment. As they are thus determinate in pursuit of gain, and can come to no resolution (to send away the ships), there ought to be a temporary stoppage of the trade, in order to cut off their expectations. Yet so many nations participate in this commerce, while the receiving ships belong only to a few states, that due investigation ought to be made, so as to distinguish between them, and to prevent good foreigners from suffering by this measure. We have, therefore, ordered the hong merchants to inquire how many nations have hitherto had commercial intercourse,—how many amongst them have traded honestly, and had no receiving ships,—and how many there have really been possessed of such ships. We directed them to send in a distinct and clear statement of these matters for our guidance in adopting measures.

We at the same time gave the strictest orders, that they should again enjoin your majesty's strict commands upon the resident foreign merchants, not permitting them to make excuses to obtain delay and extricate themselves from this dilemma; but threatening, if again they should prove dilatory, and still should nourish hopes, that the hatches shall be immediately closed, and a stoppage of the trade ensue. We desired those foreign merchants to consider fully, whether it be better that they suffer these receiving ships still to exist, or that they should continue to reap forever the advantages of a free (legal) commerce,—to weigh well, which of these two things will be the gain, and which the loss: we desired that they should carefully make their election,—and that they should no longer, by persevering in their blindness and refusing to be awakened, bring upon themselves cause for bitter repentance.

We find, on examination, that every nation earns a subsistence by this trade. All the merchants run together, bringing hither their goods to exchange for our commodities. They certainly will not consent

to throw away their property by waiting here at a ruinous loss of time. The rhubarb, the teas, the porcelain, the silks, and other articles, of this country, are moreover necessary to those nations. On account of disturbances created by barbarians, in 1808, and in 1834, the hatches were closed, and afterwards they earnestly supplicated to have them reöpened. Hence it appears, and past events fully prove it, that the various nations cannot withdraw themselves from looking up to the flowery, central, land. If they be now intimidated, therefore, by the stoppage of trade, they will probably no longer allow the receiving ships to remain, lest by such contumacious conduct they effectually damage their means of livelihood. And, if in this way they be indeed aroused and awakened, and the vessels be sent away by them, then matters will fall into their former quiet course, and there will be no need to take any further measures. If, however, they, with inveterate obstinacy, still offer open defiance to the laws, it will then be for us to adopt new expedients, and to propose to the court other measures for their punishment.

We have, while suggesting this course, written at the same time to the naval commander-in-chief of the province, that he may, in concert with the captains of the cruisers, himself adopt measures for expelling the receiving ships; and we have earnestly desired him to watch carefully their movements, and to instill into them a wholesome terror and dread; not to allow any to be careless and neglectful of their duty,—nor yet to commit such blunders as may give rise to affrays and strife. It is our confident expectation, that these steps will be attended with advantage.

We call to mind, that the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas need a daily supply of the necessaries of life, for which they are dependent on our country. Worthless vagabonds from the coast are accustomed to embark in small boats, pretending to go out fishing, whilst they in fact put a variety of provisions and other articles on board, and go to the ships to sell them: these are called 'bum-boats.' The depraved barbarians, while they can look to these supplies, are thereby enabled to prolong their stay; but if these supplies were cut off, we might succeed in getting rid of them. We, your ministers, have for some time past, made seizure of opium-dealers, and of smugglers of every description, without mercy, in order to prevent the exportation of sycee silver and the importation of opium, and thus to put a stop to this contraband traffic. We have now also given orders to capture these bum-boats, and not to permit them to have communication with the ships on the outer seas, in order that we may cut off the supplies of those vicious men. The said barbarians will then have nothing to hope for, their expectations will be groundless, matters will come to extremes, and circumstances will then necessarily be changed, so that thus the fountain may be purified—the stream of impurity being in fact arrested.

According to the reports forwarded by the officers of the Tá pang, and Heängshan stations, four of these bum-boats, with some cargo, and twenty-eight vagabonds, in them, had been taken, and sent to

the provincial city, where the men will meet with a most severe judgment. Lew Tszelin, Chin A'urh, and Ting Asán, together with other scoundrels, formerly taken with sycee silver and opium, have been repeatedly examined, and their sentence has been forwarded for the imperial approval. During the present year, according to the report transmitted by the military and civil authorities and other official persons, they have made, from the beginning of spring until the close of December, thirty seizures,—in all a hundred and forty-four offenders,—of silver, eight thousand six hundred and sixty-one taels in sycee, and three thousand and twenty-seven taels in foreign money, —and of opium, three thousand eight hundred and forty-two catties. The criminals were all severally judged, the money was given as a reward to the captors, and the opium was burnt. The haunts of opium-dealers have also been found out, and, after investigation, the public seal was placed upon them, while orders were issued for the apprehension of the persons frequenting them. The above particulars are all authenticated by entries on the records.

Your ministers have now been earnestly engaged in these measures for one year. They dare not yet say that their efforts have had the full effect to be desired. But, with regard to the existing state of things in the provincial city, it may be observed, that the price of sycee silver is at present very low;—and that opium, one ball of which on board the foreign vessels formerly cost the traitorous natives about thirty dollars, brings now only from sixteen to eighteen dollars. Of the smuggled silver, too, that has been seized, a large portion has been foreign money, which would seem to imply, that, to export silver is now comparatively difficult. The proofs of the foreigners having to sell at reduced prices, and of their receiving payment in foreign money, being thus clear, the course that has now been adopted, if pursued with vigor and firmness for a long period, and if followed up by the seizures of sycee silver, and the capture of the bum-boats, as measures of the first importance, will greatly tend to increase the wealth of the port, and to remove abuses, and will thus prove extremely beneficial.

But, there being many crafty and cunning devices which fail of success, numerous complaints have arisen, proceeding from malicious tongues, that these failures are brought on by the measures now adopted. Some there are, babbling scandal-mongers, who represent, that we, your ministers, if besought by those who bring rich offerings in their hands, are not unwilling to accept gifts. Others, speculating men, of ruined fortunes, declare that the civilians and the military officers, when bribed, liberate,—and apprehend only when unfeed; that, in searching (for contraband articles), they contrive only to annoy the (honest) merchants, and that, if they, perchance, do make a seizure, they then cause it to appear that the contraband goods have been sunk and are lost. Others, again, there are, anxious, fearful-minded men, who lament these proceedings, saying that, since these urgently preventive measures have been adopted, the foreign merchant vessels that have come hither have been but few,—and that

the circulation of capital and interchange of goods has been far from brisk, so that the merchants cannot preserve themselves from overwhelming embarrassments, and that part of Canton province must be reduced to wretchedness; further, that, since search is now being made in every place for idle people and vagrants, in order to seize them, many of the boat people are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and it may justly be feared that they will be driven to plunder, and that robberies will daily be multiplied. These and similar rumors are confidently circulated. But they are all the slanderous assertions of the credulous or the malicious, intended to trouble the minds of us your ministers, to disturb the steadiness of our hearing, and confuse the correctness of our vision.

Though we do not venture to be wholly wedded to our opinions, nor to act as if we heard nothing, and though, therefore, we seek to examine with the greatest impartiality every well-founded rumor, and all well-authenticated accusations of abuse, with the hope of preserving the whole system of affairs free from taint or imperfection;—yet will we not give way to apprehensions, which would render us fearful to begin anything, or afraid to carry it to an ending, and would reduce us to the condition of him, who, having a hiccough, left off swallowing food. We will faithfully, with our whole heart and soul, discharge our duty in managing these affairs, and will allow in ourselves no remissness in the issuing of orders to that end. Having received such great and abundant favors from your majesty, we dare not screen ourselves even from the malice of rancorous slander, and never will we incur the guilt of acting deceitfully. Thus we would hope to meet your sacred majesty's most earnest wish, that we should make TRUTH our motto.

We have thus minutely represented matters to your majesty, and have united in preparing this memorial, in reply to your majesty's commands.

ART. IV. *On a system of orthography for the Chinese language: introductory remarks; vowels; diacritical marks; diphthongs; — consonants; marks to denote the tones.*

WE proposed, in the first number of our fifth volume, that for May 1836, a system of orthography for Chinese words, intended to remedy the defects of that of Morrison's dictionary. It was then our request, that we might be favored with opinions on the subject, in order "that, with the different views of many to assist us, we might be enabled, before the close of the year, to consider the subject more maturely, preparatory to introducing an accurate system of orthography in the next volume." A few communications were in consequence received, but not such as to afford us a knowledge of the views of a majority of

our fellow-laborers in the field of Chinese literature. And, deeming delay preferable to a hasty adoption of a system subject to future alteration, we have from time to time deferred the amendment of that system of orthography which we have hitherto followed—the system adopted by Dr. Morrison. We are, however, too deeply impressed with the importance of the subject to allow it to pass into forgetfulness: and we therefore desire again to call attention to it, and to renew our request, to all who are engaged in the study of Chinese, to unite with us in the adoption of a system which may be uniformly adhered to in expressing the sounds of Chinese words. And whatever is best adapted for uniform use in this respect, will also be found the best calculated for those who entertain the desire, to introduce among the Chinese the use of Roman letters, in place of their own symbolic characters.

Our reason for wishing to deviate from the system adopted by Dr. Morrison in his Chinese dictionary has been before stated to arise from the fact, that this system is inconsistent in its several parts, while at the same time it differs from other systems adopted by Dr. Morrison in his other works, both of an earlier and of a later date. This fact, and that of the entire want of conformity among different writers on the Chinese language, are too well known to all whose attention has been turned to this subject, to admit of any hesitation in regard to the desirableness of taking the step that we propose. We will, therefore, at once proceed to unfold, a second time, our plan; referring for some of the more minute details to our former paper on the subject. In one or two minor points a slight discrepancy may be found, but in the main, our views remain unaltered.

VOWELS.

In regard to the vowels, of all the languages in which the Roman letters are used, the Italian is the most definite. In Italian we do not find, as in English and French, and to some extent in other languages, the same letter used to represent two or more perfectly distinct sounds. The Italian vowel sounds are those, therefore, which we would adopt, as the ground-work of our system. It must be remarked, however, that each vowel sound is capable of being enunciated with so many varying modulations, that two adjoining vowel sounds will, in consequence, often be pronounced with a very close resemblance to each other, and by one of unpracticed ear may even be placed one for the other.

We will not here enter into a philosophical investigation of the manner in which sounds are enunciated by the human voice, or of their relative order. We will confine ourselves to an enumeration of those variations of vocal sounds which are to be found in the Chinese language, giving the signs used to express them in the order of the Roman alphabet. Where it is necessary, from the number of the letters being less than that of the vowel sounds, to use the same letter for two resembling sounds, diacritical marks must be made use of to distinguish them. To these we will advert in the sequel.

The aspirations, as distinguished by the Greeks, form the first steps towards the utterance of sounds. The spiritus lenis, or gentle emission of breath, is little beyond an ordinary breathing. It holds however an important place in the Chinese language, there being several classes of words which are enunciated without any distinct vowel sounds—a gentle emission of breath alone following that arrangement of the vocal organs which we distinguish by the word consonant. Thus, in the words *tsz'* and *'rh*, or *'lh*, in the general language, the insertion of any vowel would infallibly mislead as to the real sound; whereas if the attempt be made to enunciate these words without a vowel, it can hardly fail of success. To mark this imperfect vowel sound, or breathing, we would adopt, then, the spiritus lenis of the Greeks ('). This breathing also often supplies the place of a nasal *ng* at the commencement of words.

The spiritus asper, or aspirate, holds likewise an important place in the Chinese language. As an initial, it is most conveniently denoted by the well known character *h*; but when occurring, as it often does, between the consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, the double consonants *ch*, *ts*, and their succeeding vowels, it is best expressed by a mark resembling the Greek spiritus asper ('). Or, if the insertions of an *h* should be considered desirable for the sake of uniformity, no objection can be raised to it, provided that the spiritus asper, or some other mark, be introduced between the preceding consonant or double consonant, and the *h*. This we deem necessary to prevent the reading of *ph* or *th* as these combinations are pronounced in English.

The vowel sounds that are fully enunciated are the following,

1. { *A*, sounded short as in *quota*.
- { *A'*, sounded long as in *calm*.
2. { *E*, sounded short as in *met*.
- { *E'*, sounded long as in *where*.
3. *E*, sounded long as in *they*.
4. { *I*, sounded short as in *sin*.
- { *I'*, sounded long as in *marine*.
5. { *O*, sounded short as in *lot*.
- { *O'*, sounded long as in *lord*.
6. *O*, sounded long as in *sow*.
7. { *U*, sounded short as in *put*.
- { *U'*, sounded long as in *rule*.
8. *U*, sounded long as in *l'unc (French)*.

We will briefly notice some objections that may be advanced against the use of any of these letters with the powers that we have given to them—objections which have either been stated by others, or have occurred to ourselves.

The use of *a* to express the sound in the last syllable of *quota*, has been objected to; and we must confess, that one accustomed to the English language, in reading *sang* in Chinese, would be unlikely to pronounce it as he does the word *sung* in English. But the same sound is often expressed in English in many different ways, and even

by two vowel letters conjoined, as in the words *none*, *fir*, *merchant*, *young*, *heard*, &c. Nor is the Chinese sound precisely that of *u* in *sung*: it is a modulation approaching more nearly, at times, to the sound of *a* in *sat*; again to that of *e* in *sent*, and even to that of *i* in *sing*. By Dr. Morrison this vowel, as a medial, was expressed by *ä*, the same letter we have used, with a short prosodial mark over it; but as a final it was expressed by *ih*,—the *i* denoting the sound of that letter in *fir*, and the *h* denoting the abrupt termination of the syllable. The French sinologues have used *e*, with the sound which that letter has in *de*, *se*, *le*, &c. If general opinion should be found against the use of *a*, as we have given it, the *e*, as used by the French, might be adopted, with a diacritical mark to distinguish it from the short sound of the second vowel on our scale; or, this last might be thus distinguished—say by the short prosodial mark:

To the long sound of *á* in *calm*, which, in common with all the other long sounds, we would distinguish by a diacritical mark from the shorter sound, we believe no objection has been raised. The same sound, with an abrupt ending (the Chinese *juh-shing*, entering or abrupt tone), may be distinguished from the more gradually-ending sound, by the addition of an *h* at the end of the syllable; thus *kiá*, *kiáh*. In place of these abrupt terminations, in the dialects of Canton and Fuhkeén, a *k*, a *p*, or a *t*, is added. Thus *kiáh*, above, would be, in the dialect of Canton, *káp*.

The second, third, and fourth, vowels are, we believe, free from objections.

The fifth vowel might otherwise, and with, perhaps, a greater degree of precision, be classed immediately after the first, and written *á* for the short sound, and *ā* for the longer sound, being that of *aw* in *law*. It was so written by sir William Jones, when he first published his system of orthography. We have been induced to give to this sound the representative sign, and consequently the place, it holds in the system which we propose, partly because it has previously, by almost universal consent, occupied that place, and partly because it is occasionally pronounced with a great degree of resemblance to the sound of *o* in *sow*.

To the three following vowels, on the preceding list, we are not aware that any objection exists.

DIACRITICAL MARKS.

In regard to the diacritical marks, which we would use to distinguish the varying lengths of the same sound, or to distinguish one sound from another where the same letter is, from necessity, used to designate both, we have sought the utmost degree of simplicity compatible with precision. Our rule has been, to leave the short sounds unmarked, to use for the long sounds corresponding to these the acute accent (´), and for the three vowels which have no corresponding short sounds, *e*, as in *they*, *o*, as in *sow*, and *u*, as in the French *lune*, to use the grave accent (`). In this, we have not attained, as we desired, complete conformity with the system of diacritical marks used

in India. But we deem consistency of one part of the system with another to be of prior importance to any other consideration. And the difference, being confined to two or three of the marks, is too slight to be the occasion of any inconvenience.

It may be objected to our diacritical marks, that they will interfere with the system of notation of the *tones* now in use. This is true. Yet we see no force in the objection. If it be deemed undesirable to make any alteration in the *signs* themselves, as now used to denote the tones, at least their *position* may be changed, and they may without inconvenience be placed at the beginning or end of the word. We will advert again to this subject in its proper place. We now proceed to the —

DIPHTHONGS.

These being necessarily dependent upon the vowels above given, of which they are mere compounds, an objection has been raised to their being admitted into the orthographical system at all. We think, however, that the objector, if he reflect for a moment on the difficulty of clearly distinguishing the exact sound where two sounds are rapidly slurred into one, will perceive, that it is of the first importance, accurately to examine the real composition of such combined sounds, in order that their pronunciation may be carefully laid down, and that so any one, who does not enjoy the best opportunities of examining for himself, may not be exposed to deceptions that would render futile our present efforts to attain uniformity of system. Therefore, those diphthongs, at least, which are peculiar to the Chinese language ought to be enumerated; and it will be found convenient to have a table of reference, in which *all* of them may be included. The number of the diphthongal sounds which we are able to distinguish in Chinese is ten. They are the following :

1. { AI, short, nearly as in *aisle*, or as *i* in *white*;
 { AI, long, as in the word *ay*.
2. { AU, short nearly as *ow*, in *how*;
 { A'U, long, nearly as *ow* in *howl*.
3. EI, pronounced nearly as *ey* in the words *Bey*, *Dey*.
4. E'U, pronounced distinctly as two syllables.
5. YU, pronounced nearly as *ew* in *pew*, *few*.
6. OI, pronounced nearly as in the word *gôitre*.
7. 'OU, a very protracted sound of the *o* in *sow*.
8. { UI, short, nearly as the French word *pluie*;
 { U'I, long; the *i* is short, and the *ú* very much protracted.
9. UE, the two letters slurred together, the combined sound protracted.
10. UA, the two letters slurred together, the sound of *a* alone protracted.

On these our remarks will be but few. The first and second of these diphthongs are familiar to us, but the short *ai* and *au*, in Chinese, are much more close than the sounds of *i* and *ow*, ever are in English; and the long *ái* and *áu* are also more broad than any

similar sounds in our language. The short *au* might be, and often has been, written *eu*, approaching somewhat to the sound of *ú*, or of *oo* in fool. The third diphthong is also more close in its pronunciation than any English sound. The fourth diphthong, *éu*, was written by Dr. Morrison *éó*. It does not occur in the general language, but is common in the dialect of Canton. Practice and *viva voce* instruction can alone render the *precise* modulation of sound of this and the six following diphthongs familiar. A near approach to the correct pronunciation will be made, if each vowel, while receiving its proper pronunciation, is slurred into close combination with the one that precedes or follows it. In many instances triphthongs are formed by prefixing the short sound of *i*, or *y*, to the diphthongs above enumerated, as *kiái*, *kiáu*.

CONSONANTS.

Several of the consonants familiar to us cannot, without great effort and long practice, be enunciated by the Chinese; and very few of our combinations of consonants are at all known to them. On the other hand, one or two pure consonants, and a like number of combined ones, are in use among the Chinese, of which it is with great difficulty that a European can learn the correct pronunciation. There are in Chinese, nineteen simple consonants, and six combined ones, as follow:

19 Simple Consonants.

B, boy; F, for; G, go; H, he; J, jet; *J'*, jamais (French); K, kick; L, let; M, maim; N, none; NG, singing; P, pop; R, our; S, so; SH, she; T, ten, V, vow; W, way; Y, yew.

6 Combined Consonants.

CH, chair; HW, or WH, what; NY, or NI, union; SZ, and TSZ, peculiar to Chinese; TS, at-sea.

The use of the consonants *b*, *g*, and *j*, is confined to the dialect of Fuhkeën, and some of the dialects of Kwangtung. Neither these consonants, nor the finals *k*, *p*, *t*, and *m* are to be found in the general language; but they are common in the dialects just mentioned; and the four last-named consonants are common, as *initials* in the general language. *V* is only used in some districts in the place of *w*. The interchangeableness of several of the letters, as *f* and *p*, *h* and *sh*, the aspirated *k* and *ch*, tend to show the sameness of the sounds which those letters are intended to denote with the sounds designated by them in Europe. We are not aware of any objection having been raised to the use of any of the above letters; but in reference to a few, some brief remarks are requisite.

J' as in *jamais* in French, or as *s* in *pleasure*, is a sound confined to those provinces where the general language is spoken. It is subject in some places to a singular alteration, receiving a pronunciation similar to *r*.

Ng is a sound common in English as a final, but as an initial pronounceable only with difficulty. A little practice will, however, soon render it familiar. This sound was by sir William Jones written *n*, a sign which he considered to be preferable to the double letter *ng*. The Dutch sign for it, in their system of writing in Roman letters used among the Malays, is a combination of the letters *n* and *g* in one. In place of the *ng*, Dr. Morrison made use of the hard *g*; but this pronunciation does not at all obtain among those by whom the general language is spoken in any degree of purity. Many, however, dropping the sound of *ng* altogether, use the Greek spiritus lenis, and in some instances *w*, in its place. In the dialect of Fuhkeen, there is a nasal sound, a half-enunciated *ng*, or *n*, occurring alike as an initial, a medial, and a final, to denote which Mr. Medhurst, in his dictionary of the Hokkèen dialect, has made use of *n*, or *ng*, raised above the line. This mode of representing it is offensive to the eye, and very troublesome to the printer. We would propose as a substitute, a diacritical mark, for instance this mark (°) resembling the Sanskrit *anuswara* or *ng*, to be placed over the vowel of the nasalized syllable. Some objection has been made to this, but we do not see the force thereof.

R denotes a sound generally supposed to be unknown to the Chinese. The class of words designated, in Dr. Morrison's orthography *urh*, and in the French orthography *eul*, will perhaps receive their most correct pronunciation, if we prepare the organs to enunciate *r*, but check the voice as soon as the rumbling sound occasioned by the agitation of the tongue commences. It is a sound between an *l* and *r*; and we have heard some give their opinion that it is pronounced more like *l* than *r*. The result of attentive listening to men whose pronunciation was the purest has, however, been, the belief that of the two *r* is the more correct. In the dictionary of Kanghe, the spelling given, according to the awkward method of Chinese orthography is *j'c*. This is in some measure explained by the circumstance, that in Tibet, through which the Chinese derived their system of spelling, *j'* and *r* seem to be sometimes confounded.

The conjunction of *s* and *z* has been objected to. In the French orthography, a double *s* supplies the place of this combination. It occurs only in the syllables *sz'* or *sze*, and *tsz'* or *tsze*, which are to be enunciated by a hissing, not followed by any distinct vowel sound.

MARKS FOR THE TONES.

A word or two on the intonations by which the Chinese and Shán, and their cognate languages, are distinguished, will conclude for the present our remarks on the orthography. The system of marking these tones has hitherto been, to use diacritical marks over the vowels, these marks being the acute, grave, and circumflex; accents, and the long and short prosodial marks. The system of orthography now proposed necessarily interferes with this mode of noting them, at least that part of it which relates to the diacritical marks. In Burmah and A'sám, marks under, instead of over, the letters have been

adopted to denote the tones; but these have not met the approbation of Chinese philologists. Two other methods have been suggested: the one is, to use the present marks, at the beginning or end of words, instead of on the vowels occurring in the words, thus *pan' pan pan' pã*; the other is, to use, in lieu of these marks, small semicircles, such as the Chinese themselves employ, on the corners of the words, thus: *nán nán nán ná*. Being in doubt ourselves which mode to prefer, we request others who have turned their attention to the subject, to favor us with their opinions. And, in regard to the whole system proposed, we would suggest its early adoption, with such alterations as meet, after due consideration, the approbation of a majority of those who are able to confer on the subject. Our earnest desire is to see a good and uniform system of orthography adopted as a standard, to which all future works on the Chinese language and nation may conform, and needless confusion be prevented.

ART. V. *Notices relating to the British war with Nipál, and the communications which passed between the British and Chinese functionaries on that occasion.* From a Correspondent.

THE deputation of a mission from the supreme government of India to the capital of Bútán, may, at the present moment, give a more than ordinary interest to the following notices, which have been derived from sources of undoubted authenticity. The point of view in which they will be found to offer the greatest interest to the foreign residents in this country, is that of affording illustrations of Chinese character and policy in positions, and under circumstances, which differ so essentially from those, in which we have hitherto had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with them in this neighborhood. Constitutional pride, an affectation of lofty arrogance, and an habitual wariness of conduct, appear to be the prominent characteristics of Chinese foreign policy. These are the struggling elements, which, as the one or the other predominate for the moment, give their color to the proceedings of the government, and which mutually act as checks upon, and correctives to, each other. These leading features of character will, I think, be found portrayed in a very lively manner in some of the incidents, which are about to be detailed.

The early events of the war with Nipál were little in accordance with the sanguine expectations of the British government; but in the early part of the year 1815, the progress of our arms became more steady and satisfactory: the forts of Ramghur, Jhurjhúri, Taraghur, and Chumbull, were successively surrendered; and the rájá of Gorkha already abandoned to despair, was ready to make every concession that could be required for the restoration of peace; it was

only the undaunted spirit of his general Umr Sing, who despite of the attempts to tamper with his fidelity, continued to exhort his sovereign to prefer a glorious struggle even to death, rather than consent to a dishonorable treaty, which would forever impair the sinews of his strength, that presented any real obstacle to the adjustment of preliminaries. "When our power is once reduced," writes that doughty chieftain to the rájâ from his camp, "we shall have another Knox's mission,¹ under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply; they will begin by introducing a company; a battalion will soon follow; and, at length, an army will assemble for the subjugation of our country. Do not trust them; besides the present is no time for treaty and conciliation; these expedients should have been resorted to before the murder of the British revenue officer;² or they must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation would be interpreted as the results of fear, and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy would respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, I say, let us confide our fortune to our swords." We learn that numerous solicitations had, during the progress of the war, been addressed by the Górkha rájâ to the emperor of China; and in 1815, we find Umr Sing strongly recommending his master to make an urgent appeal to the court of Peking for assistance, and submitting the proposed draft of an address to that effect. In this he invokes the active coöperation of the high and mighty emperor,—on the grounds of the insult that had been offered to his supremacy by the English, in daring to invade a country owing allegiance to, and enjoying the protection of, the Chinese government. The attack upon Nipál is declared to be only a preliminary step to the invasion of Bútán, and Tibet, and to securing the passes into the frontiers of China. The wealth and military resources of the British, the facts of their having conquered every prince in the plains, and having afterwards seated themselves on the throne of the emperor of Delhi, are duly dwelt upon. In conclusion, he points out the readiest means of affording effective aid to their cause, to be the immediate advance of a loan of money for the maintenance of the Górkha army, and the sending a force of 200,000 to 300,000 Chinese troops, through the Dharma territory, into the lower provinces of Bengal, "to spread alarm and consternation among the Europeans." "Consider," says he, "if you abandon your dependants, that the English will soon be masters of Lassa."

We have said that repeated solicitations had been addressed, during the war, to the court of Peking. The ordinary, or rather the only, channel of communication, between the Nipálese and that court, lay through the Chinese officers who resided at Shigatsze (Deggarchi, or Cháshi-lumbú), the seat of the tishoo lama, all these applications, it appears, were, at first, suppressed; whether from a fear, on the part of

those officers, of shocking the ears of his imperial majesty with intelligence of the advance of the English; or whether from a politic disinclination to place their court in the predicament, either of being drawn into collision with the Europeans, or of denying protection to their suppliant tributary; or whether, as those officers themselves asserted, when subsequently challenged upon this head, under the belief that it was a casual and unimportant struggle about a disputed border, in which their government could feel little concern, will be differently interpreted according to the tendency of individual opinions. One point, at any rate, is clear, that the mere fact of a memorial addressed to the emperor being delivered into the hands of a Chinese officer, is, of itself, no sufficient security, as has sometimes been imagined, for its transmission to the imperial court.

After the commencement of hostilities, a communication from the governor-general cautioning the Chinese, in common with all other neighboring powers, against aiding or abetting the enemies of the British government, reached the Umbas at Shigatsze;³ and awakened considerable apprehension in their minds. The original document was immediately forwarded to Peking, and with it, for the first time, an application (stated to have been the 13th) from the rájá of Nipál, for assistance against the invaders. The emperor is reported to have been highly indignant at the tone and the language assumed by the marquis of Hastings, and after listening to the memorial of his officers, to have exclaimed, "These English seem to look upon themselves as kings, and upon me as merely one of their neighboring rájá's." Orders were forthwith issued for a commission, composed of a tseängkeun, and two other tadjin, to proceed, under a military escort, into the vicinity of the seat of war, to institute inquiries: and an army was ordered to march with all speed after them, for the protection of the frontier line. This must have been the force to whose arrival on the confines of the Chinese territory, allusion is made in an official letter from Titalya, dated June, 1816.

About this time three Chinese officers, who styled themselves the governors of Arzung,⁴ addressed a letter to the governor-general of India, through the medium of the Sikkim rájá, a prince who was closely connected with the Deb rájá, and the lama of Lassa, and who had shown himself a staunch ally of the British government. In this address, the Chinese officers, after stating the insinuations regarding the ulterior views of the British, that had been made against them by the Górkha rájá, proceed thus, "Such absurd measures appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English; it is probable they never made the declarations imputed to them: if they did *it will not be well!* An answer should be sent, as soon as possible, stating whether or not the English ever entertained such absurd propositions: if they did not, let them write a suitable explanation to the tseängkeun, that he may report to the emperor."

By the same opportunity was received a letter from the Sikkim rájá, who stated, that "the Górkha rájá had been trying to impose on the Cheen rájá, with a story of the Europeans having united with

him to attack and conquer Nipál and China, and that this was the sole reason of the Cheen (Chinese) rájâ writing to the governor-general.

In reply, the governor-general explained the real facts in which the war with Nipál had originated, disclaimed all intentions in any degree militating against the interest or well-being of China, or injurious to her relations with the Górkha state; as to the notion of seeking a road to China, through the Nipálese territories, he left it to the intelligence of the Chinese to judge of the truth of such an argument from the justness of it. The receipt of the governor-general's letter, in conjunction with the explanations derived from the láma and the Sikkim rájâ, seem to have removed all disquieting apprehensions from the minds of the Chinese commissioners. Hostilities had, in fact, been suspended in the mean time; but the insertion in the treaty of peace of an article, which provided for the residence of a British agent at Kathmandú, was with difficulty stomachéd by the Górkha cabinet; and it was hoped that the Chinese government might be prevailed on to exert themselves to prevent the establishment of European influence in their neighborhood. The following narrative of an audience given to the Nipálese sirdárs, who visited Shigatsze for the above purpose, shows clearly enough, that, having once got rid of their alarm regarding the advance of the English troops, the Chinese authorities had now become mainly solicitous to uphold the honor and dignity of their country, by stopping the mouths of these men, who appealed to them for protection, and pointedly inquired what the world would henceforth say, if the emperor of China should abandon his tributaries and dependants to their fate? The narrative proceeds thus:

Scene—Shigatsze; a garden-house, near the city—

“With the tseängkeun (generalissimo) were the two tadjin seated in chairs, and all the subordinate officers of various ranks stood around them, with their hands joined before them, as if in the act of supplicating. The Nipálese sirdárs, having previously obtained permission to be attended by their armed escort of 111 men, proceeded to the residence, marching by files, in slow order. When they approached the tseängkeun, the whole saluted him after the Chinese manner, by falling on their knees, from which position they rose by an order. During the visit, the Chinese brought out a painting, containing likenesses of several of the old officers of the court of Nipál, and compared them with those present, but only found the likeness of one of the chieftains now before them. The tseängkeun asked, “Where are your Pundys and your Parsarâms fled to? And who are these thapas,⁵ that I never before heard of?” Entering into the subject for which they had met, he soon got exceedingly angry, and said, “You are great rascals: you have always been playing tricks, and have been the ruin of many rájâs. You once⁶ plundered Shigatsze without provocation, and when you went to war with the English, it was under the impression that you could act the Shigatsze scène over again. Why did you commit a breach of faith, and murder a thánahdár, after agreeing that hostilities should be suspended? You have now received your punishment; you first wrote to us of war having been

commenced; you then apprized us of your having made peace; and now you come and ask aid of us! What kind of a peace is this? But you were never to be depended on!" To all this, the Nipálese sirdárs simply replied, "If you cannot afford us effective aid, give us a letter to the English, that will induce them to quit Nipál." The tseängkeun rejoined, "You have already told us that the English first entered your country for the sole purpose of *establishing a warehouse* there, and upon what plea can I attempt to remove merchants, for such people are not molested in any country whatever?" One of the sirdárs answered, "If they were merely merchants, it would be of no consequence, but they are soldiers, and commanders; and what connection have troops with merchants?" The tseängkeun resumed; "The English have written to inform us that they sent their resident with your consent, of what then have you to complain? As to what your rájá stated about the English having demanded of him the roads through Bútán with the intention of penetrating into China, it is false; and, if they had any such views, they would find less circuitous routes." The sirdárs remained perfectly silent, and the tseängkeun then addressed himself, in a strain of irony, to Runbeer. "You Górkhas think there are no soldiers in the hills but what are in Nipál. Pray, at what do you number your fighting men? And to what amount do you collect revenue? The former, I suppose, cannot exceed two lakhs." Runbeer replied, that the number of their soldiers was about that mentioned by the tseängkeun, and that their revenue amounted to about five lakhs of rupees per annum. "You are, indeed, then," said the tseängkeun, "a mighty people!"

It was soon after intimated to the Nipálese mission, that it was time to take leave. They were honorably dismissed, and presented on their departure with silver to the value of 20,000 rupees, together with furs, silks, &c.

Unable to ward off the infliction of a British resident, and unwilling to break off their connection with the Chinese government, the envoys returned to Kathmandú, little satisfied with their reception, and apparently harboring some vague apprehensions of the designs of the "Cheen mahá rájá." These seem to have been subsequently strengthened; for, not long after we find the Nipálese minister applying to the British resident for a promise of support in the event of an attack from the Chinese. 'The Chinese,' says the document from which we quote, 'are understood to be highly incensed against the Nipálese, whom they regard as their tributaries, for having, for some time back, discontinued those observances which its dependent relation required, and having engaged in war, and concluded peace, with the British government, without the sanction of the government of China. This dissatisfaction, it is apprehended, involves a doubt, whether the pacification may not have been on such terms, as to transfer the allegiance of Nipál from the Chinese to the British authority; and in this emergency the rájá of Nipál has solicited the advice of the British resident at Kathmandú, and has expressed an earnest hope of support from the British government against the Chinese, who are believed to be menacing his territories.'

It is not difficult to account for the haughty bearing, and language of menace, that may probably have been adopted at this time by the Chinese, who never bluster so loudly as when a point of honor is to be conceded, and their position requires to be bolstered up. The fears of the Nipálese, we cannot believe, for a moment, to have been otherwise than groundless.

Notwithstanding the language which the Chinese commissioners used to the Górkha sirdárs, at the audience above described, it is very evident, that the establishment of a British officer at the court of a prince, who owed allegiance, and paid homage, to the emperor of China, was a source of considerable vexation to them: the recognition of their supremacy was in a measure compromised, and they were quite prepared to act upon the prayer of the Górkhas, and to use their best endeavors to procure the withdrawal of the newly appointed resident, provided always, that this could be accomplished without their committing themselves with the English, or placing their government in a position which might, on a future day, lead to collision. Accordingly in the December following, we hear of a deputation of fifty sirdárs from the Sikkim rájá, escorting a letter from the tseängkeun and his colleagues to the governor-general,—together with a box of presents. After stating the high degree of satisfaction they had derived from the frank explanation of the governor-general, their dispatch proceeds as follows. “His imperial majesty, *who, by God's blessing is well informed of the conduct and proceedings of all mankind, reflecting on the good faith and wisdom of the English Company, and the firm friendship, and constant commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted between the two nations, never placed any reliance on the calumnious imputations put forward by the Górkha rájá.*” The letter concludes with these words: “You mention, that you have stationed a *vakíl* in Nipál, this is a matter of no consequence, but as the rájá from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the circumstance, has imbibed suspicions, if you would, out of kindness towards us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your *vakíl*, it would be better; and we should feel inexpressibly grateful to you.”

The governor-general replied to the above letter, by pointing out the necessity of stationing an officer at head quarters, who could always be ready to afford explanation upon matters which might otherwise lead to misunderstanding and create ill-will. He attributed the late war to the absence of such a person; and then continued, “The habits of the borderers both of the Nipálese and the British territory are rough and violent,—hence frequent outrages may occur; but, if there were stationed at Kathmandú any accredited agent of the emperor of China, to whom this government could with confidence recur upon all matters of dispute arising between it and the Nipálese, we should be relieved from the necessity of keeping a resident there at a considerable expense. As the case actually stands, the presence of a British officer is the main security we have for avoiding differences: this officer will be instructed to restrict himself to the single care of

preserving harmony between the two states, and to abstain from all other interference in the internal or foreign affairs of Nipál." This latter paragraph was acknowledged with great satisfaction, in a subsequent communication from the Chinese commissioners, but the notion of introducing any permanent relations between the British government and a Chinese agent was very differently received, "We advert," say they, "to that part of your letter which desires us to urge our august sovereign, the emperor of China, to the appointment of a minister at Kathmandú, to whom your people and those of Nipál could refer their affairs, and thus prevent disagreements. Be it known to you, that the Górkha rája' has long been a faithful tributary of the Chinese government, *and refers himself to it*, whenever occasion requires. There is, therefore, no need of deputing any one thither from this empire: besides, by the grace and favor of God, his majesty, possessing the sovereignty of the whole kingdom of China and other parts, does not enter the city of any one without cause. If it so happen that his victorious forces take the field, in such case, after punishing the refractory, he, in his royal clemency, restores the transgressor to his throne. We have not thought it our duty to represent the point to the court of China, as the matter in question is opposed to the custom of this empire. The frequenters of the port of Canton, which lies within our territory, can inform your lordship, that such is not the custom of China. For the future, a proposition of this nature, so contrary to usage, should not be introduced into a friendly dispatch."

In perusing the above paper we cannot fail to be struck with the penetration and judgment of character evinced in the counter-proposition which was here offered to the Chinese commissioners. The alternative suggested with so much moderation and reasonableness on the part of our government, was eminently calculated to silence all further attempts at remonstrance against the establishment of our resident at the Górkha court; any arrangements tending to draw the Chinese authorities into immediate relations with our government would doubtless be viewed with the utmost abhorrence; and, rather than run the risk of ever being involved in such perplexing considerations, they dropped the subject altogether. In the insinuations, conveyed in the picture which the commissioners draw, for the purpose of contrasting the mode in which the emperor of China proceeds towards rebellious neighbors with that which the English government had pursued, are sufficiently traced the workings of wounded pride, suppressed by considerations of cautious policy; the reference which they make to the merchants at Canton for corroboration of the assertion they had advanced, regarding the custom of China, clearly proves, if proof be wanting, that the connection between the rulers of India and the English residents at Canton has long since been well known at the court of Peking: the only inquiry, however, which appears to have been made at Canton, throughout the whole war, was a message from the viceroy, delivered through Pwankhequa, requesting that the seat of war might be pointed out on a Chinese map, sent for that purpose.

Comparing some of the foregoing sketches with those close at our own doors, we are forcibly reminded of the answer given by one of the principal hong merchants to the chief of the English factory in 1829–30. After listening to the announcement of the viceroy's wrathful determinations, the gentleman inquired what the ultimatum would be, if he still persisted in his opposition, "Then," was the reply, "Then no can!" Who, with this in his memory, will fail to remark the identity of the language used by the residents at Shigatsze in their letter to the governor-general? "If they (the English) did so, (if they should have designs upon our country,) it would not be well!"

The behavior of the Chinese generals towards the Nipálese sirdárs, during the interview at Shigatsze, is in the main, the very counterpart of a scene before the gates of Canton, when foreigners have appeared there armed, and in considerable numbers. "How many are you? What do you fancy you can do? We are many, you are few!" &c.

And how frequently is the argument, adduced by the commissioners for not wishing to send a Chinese resident to Kathmandú, echoed by all classes around us, in the local phraseology of—'Cheena no cayzhun.' At the same time we may glean sufficient evidence, from the above notice, to satisfy us that, notwithstanding the profession of immutability, Chinese policy, like that of all other states, is susceptible of modification; that the officers of the Chinese government can trim to the times, and modulate their voices to the tones of civility and politeness towards foreigners, when it suits their purpose; that they can, upon occasion, appeal to the ties of friendship, and base their claims to the favor of a British governor, upon considerations of the constant commercial intercourse which has existed between the two nations.

C

1. Rána bahádar, the ruler of Nipál, having abdicated the throne in favor of his son, and retired to Benáres, incurred a considerable debt to the British government whilst living there. He entered into a treaty with them for the gradual repayment of it, and for the residence of a British officer at Kathmandú. Capt. Knox was, in consequence, appointed resident at the capital of Górkha in 1801. He had previously accompanied captain Kirkpatrick on his mission to Nipál in 1792, as commander of the military escort. The residence was given up after two or three years' duration.

2. For some years previously to the breaking out of hostilities, disputes had from time to time arisen between the Nipálese and British governments, relative to the right of occupation of certain border districts. The Nipálese at length agreed to appoint commissioners, to meet a deputation of British officers, and investigate the claims upon the spot; the result of their investigations was pronounced to be in favor of the British government; but the Górkha rájá could not be induced to retire from the lands which he had usurped, and eventually it became necessary to introduce an armed force, for the establishment of the British authority. The rainy season came on; and the troops had been but a short time withdrawn, when on the 29th of May 1814, three of the police stations in Bootwal (or Butaul) were attacked by a numerous body of Górkhas; the British officers driven out; and 18 of their number killed. The thánahdar of Khilwan surrendered himself a prisoner, but was murdered in cold blood, in the presence of the Górkha commander. All hopes of an accommodation being now at an end, it was resolved at once to suspend all commercial intercourse with Nipál, and to commence vigorous hostilities so soon as the season should admit of troops being moved.

3. Tibet appears to have been finally reduced by the Chinese in 1720, (59th year of Kangle); but the government was continued in the hands of native princes till 1750, (15th year of Keñlung) when Giurmedh Namghial, who had succeeded his father Pholonai in the government, attempted to establish his independence. The attempt terminated unsuccessfully, and Giurmedh lost his head: the royal dignity was thenceforward suppressed in Tibet, and the administration of affairs vested in the dalai láma,—assisted by a cabinet of officers,—who received their commissions and instructions from the Lefan Yuen, colonial office at Peking. At the same time, two Chinese generals were appointed residents at Shigatsze, who, in connection with the dalai láma, exercised the supreme control in all state matters. These arrangements appear to have continued in force ever since. The Chinese residents are usually styled, in native works, pansze tachin, or chuo tseäng tachin. I am indebted to Mr. Morrison for a detailed account of the Chinese establishment in Tibet, translated from a Chinese standard work, the Ta Tsing Hwuy Teñ, or Statutes of the Ta Tsing dynasty. The paper is appended.

4. Under the Ming dynasty, Tibet was called Oustsang; a corruption of the names of two provinces into which it was divided. Tibet is now commonly divided into anterior and ulterior. Is it not probable that the residents styled themselves, in addressing foreigners,—the rulers of the Two Tseäng, Urh Tseäng? adopting a form analogous to that used by the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, when he issues an edict, as Leäng Kwang tsungtuh.

5. It would appear, says Dr. Hamilton, that when the princes of the mountaineers were persuaded to adopt the doctrines of Brahmah, many clans followed the example of their chiefs, and thus have established tribes called Thapas, Ghartis, Karkis, &c. Umr Sing who commands the Górkha army is a Thapa.

6. From 1789 to 1791, the Górkhas were engaged in continual quarrels with the states of Bútán and Tibet. In the latter year, they marched a body of 7000 men upon Shigatsze, plundered the láma's treasury, and carried off prisoner one of the principal officers of Lassa. As soon as intelligence of this outrage reached Peking, an envoy was dispatched to Nipál, to demand restitution of the booty and the noble prisoner. The imperial message, however, met with no very courteous reception from the Górkhas, who refused to surrender any part of the spoil, and bade the Chinese do their worst, if they were not satisfied; upon this, the emperor becoming highly incensed, poured an army of 70,000 men into the Nipálese territories, resolved, as he expressed it himself, to 'chastise the robber.' The Chinese forces, after defeating the Górkhas in several successive engagements, advanced to within twenty-five miles of their capital. Here negotiations ensued. The Chinese general consented to retire on receiving a supply of grain for his army; and fifty virgins as a homage to his sovereign, with a promise to pay tribute to the emperor; but no stipulation was made for the restoration of the plunder of Shigatsze. The Górkha rájá in his distress applied to the governor-general for support, and captain Kirkpatrick was deputed to Kathmandú to confer with the Nipálese court, and thence to proceed to the head quarters of the Chinese army; but the treaty had been concluded with the invaders before he could reach his destination.

ART. VI. *Translation from the Statutes of the Ta Tsing dynasty, relating to the system of government in Tibet, and forming an appendix to article fifth, Note 3.*

GREAT ministers (tachin) are appointed as residents in Tibet to hold general control over the anterior and ulterior provinces of that country, and to direct the affairs of the lámas.¹

It is also the duty of these residents—by regulating what relates to the official dignities,²—by arranging the military divisions of the country,³—by preserving the discipline of the troops,⁴—by strength-

ening the defenses of the frontier,⁵—by supervising the financial affairs and taxes,⁶—by maintaining equity in punishments,⁷—and by sustaining the laws and ordinances,⁸—throughout the two provinces, to give peace and security to the Tángúths.

All tributary offerings from Tibet are made at stated periods,⁹ On each occasion, rich presents are conferred in return. The same is the case with the Górkhas.¹⁰ All bearers of tribute, entitled kánpú, on their entrance into, and departure from, China, are attended by an escort.¹¹

1. The great ministers resident in Tibet are two in number. They have under them a secretary; a writer; three commissariat officers; and eight men, able to write the Mántchou language, sent from the garrison of Chingtoofoo (the capital of Szechuen): also, one writer acquainted with the Górkhali language, and one interpreter able to speak that language, both from among the Tángúths (or Tibetans.)

They have also attached to them a military body, from the provincial force of Szechuen, as follows :

1 Lt.-colonel	-	-	-	-	-	Yewkeih.
1 Major	-	-	-	-	-	Toosze.
3 Captains	-	-	-	-	-	Showpei.
2 Lieutenants	-	-	-	-	-	Tseëntsung.
4 Sub-lieutenants	-	-	-	-	-	Pátsung.
8 Serjeants	-	-	-	-	-	Waewei,— and
646 Rank and file	—stationed in the cantons of Lassa, Cháshilunbú, Tingri, and Kíángmin :—again					
1 Lt.-colonel	-	-	-	-	-	Yewkeih.
1 Major	-	-	-	-	-	Toosze.
3 Captains	-	-	-	-	-	Showpei.
2 Lieutenants	-	-	-	-	-	Tseëntsung.
7 Sub-lieutenants	-	-	-	-	-	Pátsung.
9 Serjeants.	-	-	-	-	-	Waewei,— and
782 Rank and file,	—stationed along the commissariat posts, between Tatsienlú, on the frontiers of Szechuen, and Lassa.					

2. The native officers of the two provinces were formerly appointed by the heads of those provinces—the dalai láma, and the bantchin erdeni (or teshoo láma)—respectively, the higher appointments being announced to the residents, that they might report them to the emperor. Since the year 1794, the official dignities have been settled by the Chinese government, and officers above the seventh rank are now appointed by the lámas aforesaid in conjunction always with the residents.

3. The country is divided into encampments, 124 in number. To each, one or two officers are appointed for the subordinate control of natives—no soldiers—living within the encampment.

The number of the native troops in Tibet is 3000, one third in the canton of Lassa, one third in that of Chashilunbú, and the remaining third in the cantons of Tingri and Kíángmin. Half the number are practiced in musketry; and the remainder in the use of the sword and spear.

5. The following frontier tribes are named, as lying on the southwest: the Brukbá? the Símanghing? the Tsámláng? the Lomintáng? and the Górkhas. The approaches are by Tingri and Kíángmin, which are guarded by Chinese troops, and are every year visited by the residents in the course of their annual tour of review.

6. The taxes are paid by the nearer districts in kind, and consist in grain, a woolen manufacture called p'hrúh, Tibetan incense, silk, cotton, tea, salt,

and a few other articles of food. The distant places pay in money — which is of native coinage, and in value about a mace: there are also pieces of half that value. All their money was brought formerly from Nipál; and it is since the year 1793, that this money has been coined in Tibet. The flocks and herds are taxed, at the rate of a mace for ten sheep or goats, and the same sum for two heads of cattle. There are also some minor and peculiar taxes, as on the decease of an individual, &c. Fines and ransoms add to the revenue; as also duties on imports and exports. These last are simple. Rice and salt, are taxed at the rate of one measure of each paid in kind on every package. And other goods are charged one mace for every package. The financial affairs are entrusted to native officers, under the supervision of the residents.

7. *Punishments.* These are all in the shape of fines, the sentences of the native officers being always reported to the residents.

8. *Laws.* These refer almost exclusively to eligibility to office, and order of promotion,—tending to overthrow the ancient aristocracy and exclusive privileges; they have reference also to freedom of travelling; and restraints thereon.

9. Tibet sends an annual envoy to Peking. The two lámas take it in rotation to send one. Several lámas of rank, and nobles, send their offerings direct to the emperor, at the same time, that the chief lámas send their's.

10. The Górkha tribute-bearer proceeds to Peking once in five years. The offerings from the “Górkha erdeni king,” are elephants, horses, peacocks, ivory, unicorn's horns, peacock's tails, &c.

11. The escort joins and leaves the envoy at Sening, in the district around Kokonor. It consists of two civil officers of rank, and a body of troops under a military field-officer. The envoys are allowed from 120 to 160 asses, supplied by the government; besides which, they are allowed to engage for themselves eighty more; and to have forty followers, with goods, for sale, in proportion.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Disturbances in Tungkwau; military reviews and literary examinations; European passage-boats; imperial tombs; anniversary of Changling's birth day.*

DISTURBANCES in the district of Tungkwau, a few miles east of this city, were reported here early in the month; they originated in a quarrel between two clans; the contention running high, the parties had recourse to arms, and bloodshed ensued. A party of troops were ordered from Canton, and the disturbances are reported to be ‘finished.’

Military reviews and literary examinations have occupied the attention of the local functionaries, since the opening of the public offices on the 13th instant, the 19th day after the Chinese new-year. The governor has just left the city for a military review in ‘the wide-western’ province, Kwangse, which forms a part of his jurisdiction.

The European passage-boats have again fallen under the ban of the great men, whose duty it is to restrain foreigners; and again they are forbidden to sail on the inner waters. Out of one of those boats, the ‘Alpha,’ twenty-three chests of opium were taken by the Chinese, off Macao, about two weeks ago. Other seizures have been made; but the traffic continues.

The tombs of the imperial family have recently been embellished with a new shade tree, and all the formalities of planting it are duly recorded in the *Gazettes*.

Changling's eightieth anniversary occurred on the 15th December. He is a Mongolian, has served under three emperors, has risen from the lowest to the highest offices of state, and has held the gubernatorial reigns in eight provinces.



